

MEMOIRS
Of what pass in
CHRISTENDOM,
FROM THE
VVar begun 1672.
TO THE
P E A C E concluded 1679.

By Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, Baronet.



L O N D O N:
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To My S O N.

April, 1683.

I Do not remember ever to have refus'd any thing you have desir'd of me; which I take to be a greater Compliment to you than to my self; since for a Young Man to make none but reasonable Desires, is yet more extraordinary than for an Old Man to think them so. That which you made me some time since, and have so often renew'd, I have at last resolv'd to comply with, as well as the rest; and if I live, will leave you some Memoirs of what has pass'd in my publick Employments, especially those abroad, which reach'd from the Year 1665, to 1678. and run through the most important foreign Negotiations of the Crown, with great Connexion of Affairs at home during this Period, and the Revolutions it produc'd. The Confidence of the King my Master, and of his chief Ministers, as well as that of others abroad, gave me the Advantage to discern and observe the true Springs and Motions of both; which were often mistaken in Court and Parliament, and thereby fasten'd many Suspicions, Confidences, Applauses, Reproaches, upon Persons, and at Times, where they were very undeserv'd. Twenty Years of my Life I pass'd in publick Thoughts and Business, from the Thirty Second to the Fifty Second Year of my Age; which I take to be the Part of a Man's Life fittest to be dedicated to the Service of his Prince or State, the rest being usually too much taken up with his Pleasures or his Ease. The Native Love of my Country, and its Antient Legal Constitutions, would not suffer me to enter into any publick Affairs, 'till the Way was open for the King's happy Restauration in 1660. And in 1680 you know I sent you to acquaint the King with my Resolutions to pass the Remainder of my Life like as good a private Subject as any he had, but never more to meddle with any publick Employment. All the rest of my Age before, and since that Period, I have taken no more Notice of what pass'd upon the publick Scene, than an Old Man uses to do of what is acted on a Theatre; where he gets as easy a Seat as he can, entertains himself with what passes upon the Stage, not caring who the Actors are, or what the Plot, nor whether he goes out before the Play be done. Therefore you must expect nothing from me out of the Compass of that Time, nor any thing of that it self with much Application or Care, further than of Truth. You know how lazy I am in my Temper, how uneasy in my Health, how weak my Eyes, and how much of my Time passes in walking or riding, and thereby fencing all I can against Two cruel Diseases that have for some Time pursu'd me; so that I doubt the Satisfaction you expect will be chiefly owing to ill Health or ill Weather, which yet are not like to fail at my Age and in our Climate. For the rest, if you find any thing either instructing or diverting in what I shall write upon this Subject, you may attribute it wholly to the Kindness and Esteem I have for you, without which I should not have given myself the Trouble of such Recollections: And as I intend them for your Use, so I desire no other may be made of them during my Life; when that is ended, neither they nor you will be any more in my Care, and whatever I leave of this or any other kind, will be in your disposal. I am the gladder, and it is but just, that my publick Employments should contribute something to your Entertainment, since they have done so little to your Fortune, upon which I can make you no Excuses: 'Twas a thing so often in my Power, that it was never in my thoughts; which were turn'd always upon how much less I needed, rather than how much more. If yours have the same Turn, you will be but too rich; if the contrary, you will be ever poor.

MEMOIRS



MEMOIRS of what pass in *Christendom* From 1672, to 1679.

CHAP. I.

HAVING ended the First Part of these Memoirs with my Retirement from all publick Business in the Year 1671, which was soon followed by the Second *Dutch* War, I shall begin this with the Approaches of the Peace in the Year 1673.

About this Time, after two Summers spent in a War between *England* and *Holland*, with several Encounters at Sea, but no decisive Action, both Parties began to enter upon Thoughts, and indeed Necessities of a Peace. The Nations had been at War without being angry; and the Quarrel had been thought on both Sides rather of the Ministries than the People. The *Dutch* believ'd it at first intended only against *De Witt's* Faction, in favour of the Prince of *Orange*; and in *England* some laid it to the Corruption of Ministers by the Money of *France*; and some that pretended to think deeper, laid it to deeper Designs. The Lord *Clifford's* Violence in beginning it, gave it an ill Air in general; and the dilute of Parliaments, a cruel Maim in the chief Sinews of War.

The Subsidies from *France* bore no Proportion to the Charge of our Fleets, and our Strength at Sea seem'd rather lessen'd than increas'd by the Conjunction of theirs: Our Seamen fought without heart, and were more afraid of their Friends than their Enemies; and our Discontents were so great at Land, that the assembling of our Militia to defend our Coasts, was thought as dangerous as an Invasion. But that which most press'd His Majesty to the Thoughts of a Peace, was the Resolution of *Spain* to declare War against *England*, as they had done already against *France*, in favour of *Holland*, unless the Peace were suddenly made; which would have been such a Blow to our Trade as could not easily have been fenc'd, and lost us that of the *Mediterranean*, as the *Dutch* War had done that of the *Northern* Seas: So as the Necessity of this Conjunction, was only kept off by the Honour of our Alliance with *France*. However, that Crown being not able to furnish Supplies enough to carry on the War without a Parliament, could not oppose the calling one upon this Occasion. When the Parliament met, tho' they seem'd willing to give the King Money, yet it was to make the Peace with *Holland*, and not to carry on the War; and upon his Majesty's demanding their Advice, they gave it unanimously, That the Peace should be made.

There were too many Parties engaged in this Quarrel to think of a General Peace, tho' a Treaty to that Purpose had been set on Foot at *Cologne*, under the Mediation of the *Swedes*, between the Ministers of the Emperor, *Spain*, *Holland*, and some Princes of the Empire on the one Part, and His Majesty and *France* on the other, but without any the

least Appearance of Success; for tho' all the Confederates had a Mind to the Peace between *England* and *Holland*, yet none of them desired it with *France*. This made both the *Dutch* and the *Spainards* set on Foot all the Engines they could, to engage His Majesty in some Treaty of a separate Peace; to which the Necessity of his Affairs, the Humour of his People, and the Instances of his Parliament, at last determin'd him, towards the End of the Year 1673.

Upon the first Meeting of the Parliament, the Duke of *Buckingham*, to ingratiate himself with the House of Commons, (whose ill Humour began to appear against those they esteem'd the chief Authors of the War) had desir'd Leave of that House that he might be heard there in his own Defence upon that Subject. In his Speech, among many Endeavours to throw the Odium of the War from himself upon the Lord *Arlington*, he desir'd that Lord might be ask'd who was the Author of the Tripple Alliance? as if he understood himself to be so. The Lord *Arlington* coming afterwards upon the like Desire into the same House of Commons, and answering some Parts of the Duke's Speech; when he came to that Particular, he told them he could easily answer that Question of the Duke's, by telling them that the Author of that Alliance was Sir *William Temple*. This, I suppose, gave the Occasion for Reflections upon what had pass'd in the Course of my former Ambassies in *Holland* and at *Aix*; and his Majesty, and his Ministers, the Resolution to send for me out of my private Retreat, where I had pass'd Two Years, (as I intended to do the rest of my Life,) and to engage me in going over into *Holland*, to make the separate Peace with that State.

Upon the 2d of *February* 1673, His Majesty receiv'd the certain Advice of the States having pass'd a Resolution, That the Charges and Dignities possess'd by the Prince of *Orange* and his Ancestors, should become hereditary to his Children; And at the same Time he also receiv'd a Letter from the States, with the Desire of Passports for the Ambassadors, whom they resolv'd to send to his Majesty with Instructions and Powers to treat and conclude a Peace; and in the mean time they offer'd a Suspension of Arms. This Offer coming upon the Neck of the Parliament's Advice to his Majesty to enter into Treaty with the *Spanish* Ambassador upon the Propositions he had advanc'd, and which the King had order'd to be sent to the Parliament, it was not believ'd by the Ministers that a Treaty could be refus'd, without drawing too much Odium upon themselves and Reflection upon the Government: On the other Side, it was suspected what Practices might be set on Foot by *Dutch* Ambassadors, upon the general Discontent reigning against the present War. Therefore that very Afternoon, a Resolution was taken at the Private Junctio, to send rather than to receive an Ambassy upon this Subject; and that I should be the Person imploy'd. Two Gentlemen were sent to my House within half an Hour of one another, from the Earl of *Danby* then Lord Treasurer, and the Earl of *Arlington* first Secretary of State, to Order my Attendance upon His Majesty. My Lord *Arlington* told me he would not pretend the Merit of having nam'd me upon this Occasion, nor could he well tell whether the King or the Lord Treasurer did it first; but that the whole Committee had join'd in it; and concluded, That since the Peace was to be made, there was no other Person to be thought of for it: And accordingly the King gave me his Commands, with many Expressions of Kindness and Confidence,

dence, to prepare for my Journey; and the Secretary to draw up my Instructions. I told the King I would obey him, and with a great deal of Pleasure to see His Majesty returning to the Measures upon which I had formerly serv'd him; but that I might do it the better, I begg'd of him that I might go over without the Character of Ambassador, which would delay or embarrass me with Preparations of Equipage, and with Ceremonies there, that were unnecessary to so sudden a Dispatch. His Majesty thought what I said very pertinent, and so order'd that I should go only as Plenipotentiary; but that I should have in all Kinds the Appointment of Ambassador, and that I should take upon me the Character too when the Peace was concluded.

Within three Days I was ready; and the Morning my Dispatches were so too, the Marquess of *Frenzo*, Spanish Ambassador, sent my Lord *Arlington* Word, (while I was with him) that he had receiv'd full Powers from the States, to treat and conclude a Peace, and was ready to enter upon it whenever His Majesty pleas'd. My Lord *Arlington* surpriz'd: was at first of Opinion, the King should go on in his own way, and I my Journey, and give the *Spaniards* no part in the Affair; I was of another Mind, and that besides the Point of Honour, which was clear in having the Peace made rather at *London* than the *Hague*, I thought that of Interest might be the better pursu'd when we were sought to by the States, than when we sought to them: Besides, I believe the *Spaniard* would play us fair in a Game that he thought so much his own, and not suffer the *Dutch* to stop at any small Points, especially those of Honour; whereas that of the Flag (tho' such) was one His Majesty ought to lay most to Heart. My Lord *Arlington*, after some Debate, agreed with me, and desir'd me to go immediately and acquaint the King with this new and unexpected Incident, who was then at the House of Lords. The King seem'd pleas'd with the Change, and told me, That since I did not treat it at the *Hague*, I should, however, at *London*; and bid me go and acquaint the Marquess of *Frenzo* with his Resolution, That if he and I could agree upon the Terms, the thing should be done.

The Terms to be insisted on were soon agreed by His Majesty at the Foreign Committee, which was compos'd of the Lord Chancellor *Finch*, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord *Arlington*, and Mr. *Henry Coventry*, Secretaries of State, with whom His Majesty order'd my Attendance upon this Affair. When I was instrued of His Majesty's Pleasure, I went to the Marquess of *Frenzo*, and at three Meetings I concluded the whole Treaty, with Satisfaction to His Majesty, and Transport to the Marquess, upon so great an Honour as he thought it to himself, and the Fortunes he expected upon it from his Master. The Articles being publick, need no Place here. The two Points of greatest Difficulty were that of the Flag, and the recalling all *English* Troops out of the *French* Service. This last was compos'd by private Engagements, to suffer those that were there, to wear out without any Recruits, and to permit no new ones to go over; but at the same time to give leave for such Levies as the States should think fit to make in His Majesty's Dominions both of *English* and *Scotch* Regiments. The other of the Flag, was carried to all the Height His Majesty could wish; and thereby a Claim of the Crown, the Acknowledgment of its Dominion in the narrow Seas, allow'd by Treaty from the most Powerful of our Neighbours at Sea, which had never yet been yielded to by the Weakest of them, that I remember, in the whole Course of our Pre-
sence;

tence ; and had serv'd hitherto but for an Occasion of Quarrel, whenever We or They had a Mind to it, upon other Reasons or Conjectures. Nothing, I confess, had ever given me a greater Pleasure, in the greatest publick Affairs I had run through, than this Success ; as having been a Point I ever had at Heart, and in my Endeavours, to gain upon my first Negotiations in *Holland* ; but found Monsieur *De Witt* ever inflexible, though he agreed with me that it would be a Rock upon which our firmest Alliances would be in danger to strike, and to split, whenever other Circumstances fell in to make either of the Parties content to alter the Measures we had entred into upon the Triple Alliance. The Sum of Money given His Majesty by the States, though it was not considerable in it self, and less to the King, by the greatest Part of it being applied to the Prince of *Orange's* Satisfaction for his Mother's Portion that had never been paid ; yet it gave the King the whole Honour of the Peace, as the Sum given by the Parliament upon it, and the general Satisfaction of his People made the Ease of it. And thus happily ended our Part of a War so fatal to the rest of *Christendom*, in the Consequences of it, which no Man perhaps now alive, will see the End of it ; and had been begun and carried on as far as it would go, under the Ministry of five Men, who were usually call'd, *The Cabal*, a Word unluckily falling out of the Five first Letters of their Names ; that is, *Clifford*, *Arlington*, *Buckingham*, *Ashley*, and *Lauderdale*. But though the Counsels and Conduct of these Men had begun the War with Two unusual Strains to the Honour of the Crown, in the Attack of the *Smyrna* Fleet, and stopping the Bank ; yet it must be allow'd them to have succeeded well in the Honours they propos'd to themselves ; *Clifford* having gain'd by it the Place of High Treasurer, and Title of a Baron ; *Ashley* the Chancellor's Place, and an Earldom ; *Arlington* an Earldom, with the Garter ; and *Lauderdale* a Dukedom, with the Garter. The Duke of *Buckingham* being already posses'd of all the Honours the Crown could give of that kind, contented himself to make no better a Bargain in this Matter than he us'd to do in all others that concern'd him ; and so pretended no further than Commands in the Army. And thus, instead of making so great a King as they pretended by this *Dutch* War, and *French* Alliance, they had the Honour of making only Four great Subjects.

After the Peace was made, His Majesty's first care was to soften the Stroke as much as he could towards *France* ; which was done by representing the Necessities of it, (that needed no false Colours) and at the same time to offer his Mediation between the Parties remaining still in the War, in case *France* either desir'd, or accepted it ; which took up some time to determine. In the mean while I continu'd in the Posture and Thoughts of the private Man I was before this Revolution, 'till about a Week after the whole Conclusion of it, when my Lord *Arlington* told me how kindly the King took of me both the Readiness I had express'd to go over into *Holland*, and the Easiness I shew'd upon the failing of that Commission, as well as the Pains and Success in the Treaty with the *Spanish* Ambassador ; and not knowing any thing better he had to give me, he was resolv'd to send me Ambassador Extraordinary into *Spain* ; and to that Purpose immediately to recall Sir *William Godolphin*, the Ordinary Ambassador there, for many Reasons that, he said, made it necessary in this Conjunction.

I acknowledg'd the Honour His Majesty intended me, but desir'd time to give my Answer, 'till I had consult'd my Father upon it, who was then

in *Ireland*, but in the Intention of coming suddenly over; however, in a Month I undertook to resolve. My Lord *Arlington* told me, he did not expect any Demur upon such an Offer, which he took to be of the best Employment the King had to give; and therefore he had already acquainted the *Spanish* Ambassador with it, who receiv'd it with great Joy, and resolv'd immediately to give part of it to the Court of *Madrid*; which he was sure was already done, and therefore he would reckon upon it as a thing concluded; though for the good Grace of it to my Father, he undertook the King would give me the time I ask'd to resolve. When I writ to my Father upon this Subject, he was so violent against my charging my self with this Ambassy, that I could not find any Temper to satisfy him, and upon it was forc'd to make my Excuses to the King. When I did so, His Majesty was pleas'd to assure me he did not at all take it ill of me, and that, on the contrary, he intended me a better Employment: That he was at present engag'd for the Secretary's Place, upon my Lord *Arlington's* Removal to Chamberlain; but that he resolv'd the next Removal shou'd be to make Room for me. This I told my Lord *Arlington*, who presently said, That he believ'd I could not refuse the *Spanish* Ambassy, but upon Design of the Secretary's Place; and since I desir'd it, and the King fell into it of himself, he would play the easiest part in it that he could. He was indeed agreed with Sir *Joseph Williamson* for 6000 *l.* and the King had consented that he should enter upon it at his Return from *Cologne*, which was every Day expected; but yet he made such a Difference between the Persons, that he would find some way to avoid it, in case I would lay down the 6000 *l.* I assur'd his Lordship I had no such Design, nor such a Sum of Money to lay down, while my Father enjoy'd the Estate of the Family: That if I had, I shou'd be very unwilling to pursue it so far, as to give his Lordship any Strain in a Matter already promis'd and concluded; and therefore desir'd him to think no further of it. But he was not of Opinion I could stick at any thing but the Money, and acquainted Mr. *Montague* and Mr. *Sidney*, who were Friends to us both, with this Transaction, and set them upon me to bring it to an Issue before the other came over: They both endeavour'd it with great Instances, and Mr. *Montague* was so kind as to offer to lend me the Money, but I was positive in refusing it; yet at the same time I told my Lord *Arlington*, That, not to seem humourous in declining the Offers he had made me from the King, or from himself, I was content they shou'd both know, that if His Majesty had Occasion to send an Ambassy into *Holland*, upon the Peace, I would very willingly serve him there, where I knew the Scene so well. So that Matter slept for the present.

In the mean while, *France* had thought fit to accept and approve the King's Offer of Mediation, that of *Sweden* being ended by the Assembly at *Cologne* breaking up in Expostulations and Quarrels upon the Emperor's seizing the Person of Prince *William* of *Furstenburgh*, a Subject of the Empire, but an Instrument of *France*, as his Brother the Bishop of *Strasbourg* had been in all the late Designs and Invasions of that Crown upon their Neighbours. The King told me, That being resolv'd to offer his Mediation to all the Confederates, as he had done already to *France*, and finding I had no mind to engage in either of those Employments which had of late been offer'd me, he was resolv'd to send me Ambassador Extraordinary into *Holland*, to offer his Mediation there, as the Scene of the Confederates Common Counsels, and by their Means to endeavour
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the Acceptance of it by the rest of the Princes concern'd in the War : That I knew the Place and Persons better than any Man, and could do him more Service, both in this, and continuing all good Correspondence between him and the States, which he was resolv'd to preserve: That I should have the Character of Ambassador Extraordinary, and the same Allowance I shou'd have had in *Siam*. Upon this Offer, I made no Demur, but immediately accepted it, and so my Ambassy was declar'd in *M*, 1674.

But to make way for my entring upon this great Scene, it will be necessary to deduce in short the Course of Affairs Abroad, from the first Period of the present War. to this Second of His Majesty's separate Peace with *Holland*, and the several Dispositions among the Parties that were likely to facilitate, or to cross the Design of the King's intended Mediation.

No Clap of Thunder in a fair frosty Day, cou'd more astonish the World, than our Declaration of War against *Holland*, in 1672. First, by matter of Fact, in falling upon their *Smyrna* Fleet; and in Consequence of that, (however it fail'd) by a formal Declaration, in which we gave Reasons for our Quarrel, while *France* contented themselves to give no other for their Part of it, than only the Glory of that King. The *Dutch* cou'd never be possess'd with a Belief that we were in Earnest, 'till the Blow was given; but thought our Unkindness and Expostulations of late, wou'd end at last either in Demands of Money, or the Prince of *Orange's* Restitution to the Authority of his Ancestors. The Princes concern'd in their Safety cou'd not believe, that after having sav'd *Flanders* out of the Hands of *France*, we wou'd suffer *Holland* to fall into the same Danger; and my Lord *Arlington* told me at that time, that the Court of *France* did not believe it themselves, till the Blow was struck in the Attack of the *Smyrna* Fleet; but then they immediately set out their Declaration, and began their Invasion: This Surprize made way for their prodigious Successes. The *Dutch* had made no Provision for their Defence, either at Home, or Abroad; and the Empire, *Spain* and *Sweden*, stood at a gaze upon the Opening of the War, not knowing upon what Concerts between us and *France* it was begun, nor how far we wou'd suffer it to go on upon the *French* Conquests. Besides, the Animosities of the Parties in *Holland*, long express'd under their new Constitution and *De Witt's* Ministry, began to flame again upon this Misfortune of their State. The Prince's Friends talk'd loud and boldly. That there was no way to satisfy *England*, but restoring the Prince; and that the Baseness and Cowardice of their Troops were the Effects of turning out all Officers of Worth and Bravery for their Inclinations to the Prince, and mean Fellows brought in for no other Desert than their Enmity declar'd to the House of *Orange*. Upon this all Men expected a sudden Change; the States were in Disorder, and irresolute what to do; the Troops were without a General, and, which is worse, without Heart; and though *De Ruyter*, by admirable Conduct, kept the Infection of these Evils out of his Fleet, which was our Part to deal with; yet Faction, Distrust, Sedition, and Distraction, made such Entrances upon the State and the Army, when the *French* Troops first invaded them, that of all the Towns and Fortresses on the *German* Side, (held impregnable in all their former Wars) not one besides *Maastricht* made any show of Resistance, and the *French* became immediately Masters of all the Inland Parts of the Provinces in as little time as Travellers usually

ually employ to see and consider them. *Maëstricht* was taken after a short Siege, as *Schenck-sconce*, by the help of an extream dry Season, that made Rivers fordable, where they had never been esteem'd so before. The King of *France* march'd as far as *Utrecht*, where he fixt his Camp and his Court, and from thence began to consider of the ways how to possess himself of the rest, that was defended only by their Situation upon some flat Lands, which, as they had by infinite Labour in Canals and Diques, been either gain'd or preserv'd from Inundations; so they were subject to them upon opening the Sluces, whenever the *Dutch* found no other way of saving their Country but by losing it. This, at least, was generally believed in the *French* Camp and Court; and, as I have heard, was the Preservation of the State: for that King unwilling to venture the Honour and Advantage of such Conquests as he had made that Summer, upon the Hazards of a new sort of War with a merciless Element, where neither Conduct nor Courage were of use, resolv'd to leave the rest to Practices of Peace with the States, upon the Advantage of the Terms he stood in; and the small Distance of Place between them; or, if these shou'd not succeed, then he trusted to the Frosts of the following Winter; which seldom fail in that Country to make all passable and safe for Troops and Carriages themselves, that in Summer wou'd be impassable, either from the Waters, or the Depth of the Soil.

In the mean time the State and the Government of *Holland* took a new Form, and with it a new Heart. Monsieur *De Wit* and his Brother had been Massacred by the sudden Fury of the People at the *Hague*, and by the Fate of Ministers that govern by a Party or Faction, who are usually sacrific'd to the first great Misfortunes Abroad, that fall in to aggravate, or inflame the general Discontents at Home. The Fact and the Manner having been very unusual, may be the Subject of others Enquiry, as it was of mine, which gave me this Account: The *Ruier* of *Pussen*, eldest Brother to Monsieur *De Wit*, had been accus'd of a Design upon the Prince's Life, and of endeavouring by Money, to engage one of his Highness's Domesticks in that Attempt: But no other Witness appearing, he was Sentenc'd only to be Banish'd; at which the People shew'd great Dissatisfaction, being possess'd with an Opinion of his Guilt. The Morning he was to come out of Prison, Monsieur *De Wit* (against the Opinion of his Friends) would needs go himself to bring him out with more Honour, and carry him out of Town, and to that Purpose, went with his Coach and Four Horses to the Court. This being not usual to this Minister, made the People take more Notice of it, and gather together tumultuously, first in the Streets where he pass'd, and then about the Court where the Prisoner was kept. Some of the Train'd-Bands of the *Hague* that were upon the Guard mingled among them, and began to rail aloud against the Judgment of the Court, the Crime of one Brother, and the Insolence of the other, who pretended (as they said) to carry him away in Triumph. In the midst of this Heat and Passion, rais'd by these kind of Discourses among the Populace, the two Brothers came out; some of the Train-Bands stop'd them, began to treat them at first with ill Language, and from Words fell to Blows: Upon which Monsieur *De Wit*, foreseeing how the Tragedy wou'd end, took his Brother by the Hand, and was at the same time knock'd down with the Butt-end of a Musket. They were both presently laid dead upon the place, then drag'd about the Town by the Fury of the People, and torn in Pieces. Thus

ended one of the greatest Lives of any Subject in our Age, about the 47th Year of his own; after having served, or rather administrated that State as Pensioner of *Holland*, for about Eighteen Years, with great Honour to his Country and himself. After the Death of these Brothers, the Provinces and Towns ran with unanimous Voices into publick Demands of the Prince's being restor'd to the Authority of his Ancestors. The States had in the beginning of the Year declar'd him Caprain-General, and Admiral of their Forces, which was no more than *De VVit* had always profess'd was design'd for him when he shou'd be of Age; but this was found neither to have satisfi'd *England*, nor the Prince's Party at Home; and therefore all the Members of the State agreed in those Acts that were thought necessary to a full Restitution of his Highness, now at the Age of Twenty One Years, to the Office and Power of Stadtholder, with all Advantages, and even some more than those which had been exercis'd by his Ancestors. At the same time Monsieur *Fagel* was introduced into Monsieur *De VVit*'s Place of Pensioner of *Holland*, whose Love to his Country made him a Lover of the Prince, as believing it cou'd not be sav'd by any other Hand, and whose Zeal to his own Religion made him an Enemy irreconcilable to *France*, whose Professions as well as Designs, were to destroy it.

This Revolution, as it calm'd all at Home, so it made the first Appearance of defending what was left of the Country: The State grew united, the Army in Heart, and foreign Princes began to take Confidence in the Honour and Constancy of the Young Prince, which they had in a manner wholly lost upon the Divisions and Misfortunes of the State. The *French* themselves turn'd all their Applications and Practices the same way, and made the Prince all the Offers that cou'd be of Honour and Advantages to his Person and Family, provided he wou'd be contented to depend upon them. The Bait they thought could not fail of being swallow'd, and about which most Artifice was employ'd, was the Proposal of making the Prince Sovereign of the Provinces under the Protection of *England* and *France*. And to say Truth, at a time when so little of the Provinces was left, and what remain'd was under Water, and in so imminent Danger upon the first Frosts of the Winter, this seem'd a Lure to which a meaner Soul than that of this Prince might very well stoop. But his was above it, and his Answers always firm, That he never wou'd betray a Trust that was given him, nor ever sell the Liberties of his Country, that his Ancestors had so long defended. Yet the Game he play'd was then thought so desperate, that one of his nearest Servants told me he had long expostulated it with his Master, and ask'd him at last, How he pretended to live after *Holland* was lost? And whether he had thought so far? The Prince told him he had, and that he was resolv'd to live upon the Lands he had left in *Germany*; and that he had rather pass his Life in Hunting there, than sell his Country, or his Liberty to *France* at any Price. I will say nothing of the Ambassy sent at this time by His Majesty to the *French* King at *Utrecht*, where the three Ambassadors, Duke of *Buckingham*, Lord *Arlington*, and Lord *Hallifax* found him in his highest Exaltation, for I cannot pretend to know what the true Ends, or Subject of it was. The common Belief in *England* and *Holland* made it to be our Jealousie of the *French* Conquests going too fast whilst ours were so lame; and great Hopes were rais'd in *Holland*, that it was to stop their Course or Extent; but these were soon dash'd by the Return of the Ambassadors, after

after having renew'd and fasten'd the Measures formerly taken between the two Crowns. And the Ambassadors were indeed content, as they pass'd through *Holland*, that the first shou'd be thought; which gave occasion for a very good Repartee of the Princess Dowager to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who visited her as they pass'd through the *Hague*, and talking much of their being good *Hollanders*, she told him, That was more than they ask'd, which was only that they shou'd be good *Englishmen*; he assur'd her, they were not only so, but good *Dutchmen* too; that indeed they did not use *Holland* like a Mistress, but they lov'd her like a Wife: To which she reply'd, *Vrayment, je croy que vous nous aimez comme vous aimez la vostre*; [*Truly, I believe you love Us as you love your own Wife.*]

When *France* had lost all Hopes of shaking the Prince of *Orange's* Constancy, they bent all their Thoughts upon subduing and ruining the Remainder of the Country. They had advanc'd as far as *Woerden*, and from thence they made their Ravages within two or three Leagues of *Leyden*, with more Violences and Cruelties than wou'd have been prudent, if they had hop'd to reclaim the Prince or States from the Obstinacy of their Defence. The Prince encamp'd his Army near *Bodegrave*, between *Leyden* and *Woerden*, and there made such a Stand with a Handful of Men, as the *French* could never force. The Winter prov'd not favourable to their Hopes and Designs, and some Promises of Frosts inveigled them into Marches that prov'd almost fatal to them by a sudden Thaw. This frighted them into Cautions, perhaps more than were necessary, and gave the Prince and States leisure to take their Measures for a following Campaign, with the Emperor, *Spain*, and the Duke of *Brandenburg* and *Lunenbourg*, which prov'd a Diversion to the Arms of *France*, and turn'd part of them upon *Germany* and *Flanders*, so as to give over the Progress any further in *Holland*. Upon the Approach of the Winter, the Prince, after having taken *Naerden*, three Leagues from *Amsterdam*, in spite of all Resistance and Opposition from either the *French* or the Season, resolv'd, like another young *Scipio*, to save his Country by abandoning it; and to avoid so many Sieges, as all the Towns they had lost wou'd cost to recover: He contented himself to leave the chief Posts guarded with a part of the Army, and with the rest march'd into *Germany*, joyn'd part of the Confederate Troops, besieg'd *Bonne*, which had been put into the Hands of *France* at the beginning of the War, wherein the Elector of *Cologne* and the Bishop of *Munster* had enter'd jointly with *France*. The boldness of this Action amaz'd all Men, but the Success extoll'd the Prudence as well as the bravery of it; for the Prince took *Bonne*, and by it open'd a Passage for the *German* Forces over the *Rhine*, and so into *Flanders*; and gave such a Damp to the Designs and Enterprises of *France*, that they immediately abandon'd all their Conquests upon *Holland*, in less time than they made them, retaining only *Maestricht* and *Grave*, of all they had possess'd belonging to this State.

In this Posture stood Affairs abroad, when the Peace of *England* was made in *February* 1673-4. upon the Strength and Heart whereof the Prince of *Orange* concerted with the *German* and *Spanish* Troops to begin an Offensive War, and in the Head of an Army above Forty thousand Men, to march into *France*.

The *French* began now to wish the War well ended, and were very glad to accept his Majesty's Mediation. The King was desirous to make *France* some amends for abandoning the Partie, and making a separate Peace. Some of his Ministers foresaw he wou'd be Arbitrer of the Peace, by being Media-

for, and that he might hinder any separate Treaties, by mediating a general one, and might restore Peace to *Christendom* whenever he thought fit, and upon what Conditions he thought safe and just.

The only Difficulties that appear'd in this Affair, were what the Confederates were like to make in accepting the King's Mediation, whose late Engagements with *France* had made him thought very partial on that Side. And the House of *Austria* finding that Crown now abandon'd by *England*, had too greedily swallow'd the Hopes of a Revenge upon them to desire any sudden Treaty, 'till the Successes they expected in the War might at least make way for reducing *France* to the Terms of that of the *Pyrennes*. This I suppose, gave some Occasion for my being again design'd for this Ambassy, being thought to have some Credit with *Spain*; as well as *Holland*, from the Negotiations I had formerly run through at the *Hague*, *Brussels*, and *Aix la Chapelle*, by which the remaining parts of *Flanders* had been sav'd out of the Hands of *France* in the Year 1668.

But having often reflected upon the unhappy Issue of my last publick Employments, and the fatal Turn of Counsels in our Court that had occasion'd it, against so many wiser Men's Opinions, as well as my own; I resolv'd, before I went this Journey, to know the Ground upon which I stood, as well as I could, and to sound it, by finding out what I was able of the King's true Sentiments and Dispositions, as to the Measures he had now taken, or rather renew'd, and trust no more to those of his Ministers, who had deceiv'd either me or themselves. Therefore, at a long Audience in his Closet, I took Occasion to reflect upon the late Counsels, and Ministry of the late Cabal; how ill His Majesty had been advis'd to break Measures and Treaties so solemnly taken and agreed; how ill he had been serv'd, and how ill succeeded, by the violent Humour of the Nation breaking out against such Proceedings, and by the Jealousies they had rais'd against the Crown. The King said, 'Twas true, he had succeeded ill, but if he had been well serv'd, he might have made a good Business enough of it; and so went on a good deal to justify what was past. I was sorry to find such a Preface of what might again return from such a Course of Thought in the King, and so went to the bottom of that Matter. I shew'd how difficult, if not impossible, it was, to set up here the same Religion or Government that was in *France*; That the universal bent of the Nation was against both; that many who were, perhaps, indifferent enough in the Matter of Religion, consider'd it cou'd not be chang'd here but by Force of an Army; and that the same Force which made the King Master of their Religion, made him Master of their Liberties and Fortunes too. That in *France* there was none to be consider'd but the Noble and the Clergy; that if a King cou'd engage them in his Designs, he had no more to do; for the Peasants having no Land, were as insignificant in the Government as the Women and Children are here: That, on the contrary, the great Bulk of Land in *England* lies in the Hands of the Yeomanry or lower Gentry, and their Hearts are high by Ease and Plenty, as those of the *French* Peasantry are wholly dispirited by Labour and Want. That the Kings of *France* are very great in Possessions of Lands, and in Dependancies by such vast Numbers of Offices both Military and Civil, as well as Ecclesiastical; whereas those of *England*, having few Offices to bestow, having parted with their Lands, their Courts of Wards and Knights Service, have no Means to raise or keep Armies on foot but by Supplies from their Parliaments, nor Revenues to maintain any foreign War by other ways. That if they had an Army on foot, yet if compos'd of *English*, they

they would never serve Ends that the People hated and fear'd. That the Roman Catholicks in *England* were not the Hundredth Part of the Nation, and in *Scotland* not the two Hundredth; and it seem'd against all common Sense, to think by One Part to govern Ninety Nine that were of contrary Minds and Humours. That for foreign Troops, if they were few, they would signifie nothing but to raise Hatred and Discontent; and how to raise to bring over at once, and to maintain many, was very hard to imagine. That the Force seeming necessary to subdue the Liberties and Spirits of this Nation, could not be esteem'd less than an Army of threescore thousand Men, since the *Romans* were forc'd to keep Twelve Legions to that Purpose, the *Norman* to institute Sixty Two Thousand Knight's Fees, and *Cromwell* left an Army of near Eighty Thousand Men. That I never knew but one Foreigner that understood *England* well, which was *Gourville*, (whom I knew the King esteem'd the soundest Head of any *Frenchman* he had ever seen;) That when I was at *Brussels* in the first *Dutch War*, and he heard the Parliament grew weary of it, he said, The King had nothing to do but to make the Peace; That he had been long enough in *England*, seen enough of our Court, and People, and Parliaments, to conclude,

Qu'un Roy d'Angleterre qui veut estre l'Homme de son peuple, est le plus grand Roy du monde; mais s'il veut estre quelque chose d'avantage, par Dieu il n'est plus rien. [That a King of England who will be the Man of his People, is the greatest King in the World; but if he will be any thing more, by G—d he is nothing at all.]

The King heard me all very attentively, but seem'd a little impatient at first: Yet at last he said, I had Reason in all, and so had *Gourville*; and laying his Hand upon mine, he added, *Et je veux estre l'Homme de mon peuple;* [And I will be the Man of my People.]

My Ambassy Extraordinary to *Holland* was declar'd in *May*, and my Dispatches finish'd at the Treasury as well as the Secretary's Office, so as I went away in *July*. My Instructions were, in general, To assure the States of His Majesty's Friendship, and firm Resolution to observe his Treaties with them; then to offer his Mediation in the present War, which both they, and almost all *Christendom*, were engag'd in; and after their Acceptance of it, to endeavour it likewise with all their Allies; and, to that End, to engage the Offices and Intervention of the States. But immediately after my Arrival at the *Hague*, to repair to the Prince of *Orange*, give him part of His Majesty's Intentions in all this Affair, and Assurance of his Kindness, and engage his Highness, as far as cou'd be, to second His Majesty's Desires, in promoting a General Peace, wherein the *United Provinces* seem'd to have the greatest Interest.

After my Arrival at the *Hague* in *July 1674*, and a Delivery of my Credentials to the President of the Week, and a Visit to the Pensioner, wherein I discover'd a strong Inclination in the States to a Peace, as far as their Honour and Engagements to their Allies would allow them, and was assur'd of the States accepting His Majesty's Mediation, I went away to *Antwerp*, it hopes to have found the Prince at his Camp there, between *Antwerp* and *Louvain*, where he had lain some time attending the Advance of the Confederate Troops, with whom he had concert'd to joy'n his Army upon their Arrival in *Flanders*. But two Days before I came to *Antwerp*, the Army was march'd beyond *Louvain*, so as I was forc'd to go to *Brussels*, and there de-

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fire a Guard to convey me to the Camp. The Punctilios of my Character would not suffer me to see the Count De Monterey, though I had for some Years liv'd at *Brussels* in particular Friendship and Conversation with him. Few Strangers had perhaps ever been better us'd than I, during three Years Residence at *Brussels*, by all Persons of Quality, and indeed, of all Ranks there, so that it was very surprising to me to meet such a dry and cold Treatment from the Governor, and such an Affectation in the Persons of Quality, not so much as to visit me; for I do not remember one that did it besides the Count D' *Egmont*, who was then not very well at Court, either in *Spain* or *Flanders*. Others that I met in the Streets, or the Park, though they came with open Arms to embrace me, yet never came at me, but contented themselves with saying they intended it. When I sent my Secretary to the Count De *Monterey* with my Compliments, and Desires of a Guard to the Prince of *Orange*, who was then not above Six Leagues off, he return'd the First very coldly, and the other with Excuses that amounted to a Refusal; he said, The Way was so dangerous, by stragling Parties of the Army, that he cou'd not advise me to venture with a small Guard; and he had drawn out so many of the *Spanish* Troops into the Field, that he cou'd not give me a great one. I sent again to desire what he cou'd spare me, let the Number be what it wou'd; for though I wou'd not expose the King's Character, nor his Business, by any Accident I might prevent; yet when I had endeavour'd it by my Application to his Excellence, I wou'd take my Fortune, though he sent me but Six of his Guards. He replied, That he cou'd not possibly spare any of them; but that next Morning he expected a Troop of Horse to come into Town, and that as soon as it arriv'd, the Captain should have Order to attend me. Next Morning was put off till Night, and Night to the Morning following; when the Count finding I was resolv'd to go, tho' without Convoy, rather than to expect longer, sent me a *Spanish* Captain with about Forty Horse to convey me to *Louvain*. The Truth was, that the *Spaniards* were grown so jealous of His Majesty's Mediation offer'd at the *Hague*, of the States and People's violent Humour to a Peace in *Holland*, and of the Offices they thought I might use, to slacken the Prince of *Orange* in the vigorous Prosecution of their present Hopes and Designs, that I found it was resolv'd to delay first, and then to hinder absolutely any Interview between the Prince and me till the Campaign was ended; but to do it with as little ill Grace as they cou'd. To this Purpose *Du Moulin* (then one of the Prince's Secretaries, and an inveterate Enemy against the Court of *England*) was dispatch'd between the Camp and *Brussels*, whilst I lay there, and with Guards, whereof half wou'd have serv'd my turn, or at least contented me.

When I came to *Louvain*, I found the Prince was march'd towards *Tirlemont*, but cou'd not learn where his next Halt was design'd. The *Spanish* Captain told me, he had Order to go no further than *Louvain*. So that I neither knew whether to go, nor cou'd go any way without a Guard, as they assur'd me at *Louvain*. Whereupon I sent immediately Mr. *Bulstrode*, who had come with me from *Brussels*, to endeavour to find out the Prince, and desire him to appoint what Time and Place I shou'd attend His Highness, which I resolv'd to do with those few Servants I had brought with me, and such others as I cou'd hire at *Louvain*, where I lay that Night.

The next Morning Mr. *Bulstrode* return'd with the Prince's Answer, That he was upon his March; that he shou'd be very glad to see me, but cou'd not possibly appoint either Time or Place for it, because his Motions were

uncertain, and wou'd depend upon the Advices he receiv'd. By which I found plainly what I had suspected at *Brussels*, That it was resolv'd I shou'd not see the Prince before this Campaign was begun by the Actions then concerted among the Confederates. I wou'd not however seem to understand it so, nor any thing more in it than what His Highness was pleas'd to say; but I knew very well, that as they say none is more deaf than he that will not hear, so a Man that will not be seen may easily find ways of avoiding it, especially upon such Circumstances as the Prince and I were then in, who must have follow'd the Motions he wou'd have given me: And therefore I resolv'd not to expose either His Majesty's Character or Credit, with his Nephew, by making that publick which had pass'd between the Prince and me upon this Subject; but pretending my Health wou'd not suffer me to follow the Prince upon his March, I return'd to *Antwerp*, and gave His Majesty an Account of all that had pass'd, who extreamly approv'd my Conduct in it, and that I press'd no further a Point that I saw wou'd not go, and that was taken by the Prince, as well as the Count *De Monterey*, so differently from what His Majesty expected.

I stay'd only a Night at *Antwerp*, which pass'd with so great Thunder and Lightning, that I promis'd my self a very fair Day after it, to go back to *Rotterdam* in the States Yacht that still attended me. The Morning prov'd so, but towards Evening the Sky grew foul, and the Seamen presag'd ill Weather, and so resolv'd to lie at Anchor before *Bergen op Zoom*, the Wind beig cross and little. When the Night was fallen as black as ever I saw, it soon began to clear up with the most violent Flashes of Lightning, as well as Cracks of Thunder, that I believe have ever been heard in our Age and Climate. This continu'd all Night, and we felt such a fierce Heat from every great Flash of Lightning, that the Captain apprehended it wou'd fire his Ship. But about Eight the next Morning the Wind chang'd, and came up with so strong a Gale, that we came to *Rotterdam* in about Four Hours, and there found all Mouths full of the Mischiefs and Accidents that the last Night's Tempest had occasion'd, both among the Boats and the Houses, by the Thunder, Lightning, Hail, or Whirlwinds. But the Day after came Stories to the *Hague*, from all Parts, of such violent Effects as were almost incredible. At *Amsterdam* they were deplorable, many Trees torn up by the Roots, Ships sunk in the Harbour, and Boats in the Canals, Houses beattendown; and several People were snatch'd from the Ground as they walk'd the Streets, and thrown into the Canals. But all was silenc'd by the Relations from *Utrecht*, where the Great and Antient Cathedral was torn in pieces by the Violence of this Storm; and the vast Pillars of Stone that supported it were wreath'd like a twisted Club, having been so strongly compos'd and cemented, as rather to suffer such a Change of Figure, than break in Pieces as other Parts of the Fabrick did; hardly any Church of the Town escap'd the Violence of this Storm, and very few Houses without the Marks of it. Nor were the Effects of it less astonishing by the Relations from *France* and *Brussels*, where the Damages were infinite, as well from Whirlwinds, Thunder, and Lightning, as from Hailstones of prodigious Bigness.

At my Return to the *Hague*, I had long Conversations with the Persiener, by which I gain'd the Lights necessary to discover the whole present Scene of Affairs, and Pulses of the several Confederates in what related to the General Peace. I told him how much His Majesty was satisfy'd with that he had lately made with the States; how much he was resolv'd to continue and to cultivate it. How much Reason he had to be content with the Persiener

that had left him in a Peace with all his Neighbours, while they were all at War. That Advantages of Commerce from it were enough to make him trouble himself no further about the Peace of *Christendom*, if his Goodness and Piety did not prevail more with him than his Interests. But that these, and the Desires of a General Good, had persuaded him to offer his Mediation in the present Quarrels. That it had been already accepted by *France*; and that the Emperor and *Spain* had answer'd they wou'd consider of it in Concert with their Allies. That the States Ambassadors at *London* had assur'd His Majesty their Masters wou'd be pleas'd with it, and doubted not their Consent that the Treaty shou'd be at *London*; and that thereupon His Majesty had charg'd me with a Letter to the States, to offer them his Mediation. That I cou'd not doubt their accepting it with the best Grace that cou'd be, for I knew their Interest was to have a Peace, and not to disoblige the King. That if His Majesty were partial to any Side, they ought to believe it wou'd be to that wherein his own Nephew was so deeply concern'd; and the more, because he offer'd his Offices towards a Peace, at a time when the Advantages and Preparations for the War ran so high on the *French* side, as he doubted the Events might shew if it continu'd. That they knew his Interest wou'd not suffer him to see *Flanders* lost; and that considering what had pass'd, his Honour wou'd not now suffer him to think of preserving it any other way than by that of a Peace. That he wou'd be glad to see that Country left by the next Peace in a better Posture of Defence than it was by the last, and the *Spanish* Territories lie closer and rounder than they were then left: That when this shou'd be concluded, His Majesty wou'd be ready to enter into the strongest Guaranties they cou'd desire, and might with Honour enter into a War to preserve it, though he cou'd not to obtain it. The Pensioner first gave me Thanks for my good Offices in the late Peace, and in all the measures of Friendship that had interceded between His Majesty and them since the first Breach. He applauded the King's Resolution in so pious and generous an Offer, and acknowledg'd his Interest might lead him to other Dispositions. That he doubted not the States Willingness to accept it; all the Difference wou'd be about the time and the manner of doing it. As to this, he said, they cou'd not do it without the Communication at least of their Allies; but wou'd immediately give them part of His Majesty's Offer, and the States Dispositions to receive it. That for the Terms of a Peace, as to their own Parts they wou'd be content to make His Majesty the Arbitrer of it. That they had already recover'd all the Towns they had lost, except *Grave* and *Maestricht*, the last of which was in some manner engag'd to *Spain*, when it shou'd be recover'd; and for the other, they doubted not to have a good Account of it very soon, Orders being already gone to invest it. But he doubted whether their Allies wou'd be so easie in their Expectations or Demands; and that 'twas impossible for the States to leave them who had sav'd their Country from Ruine, when two so great Kings had invaded 'em; or to break the Trearies which they had made Offensive with the Emperor, *Spain* and *Brandenburg*. That the Terms stipulated with *Spain* oblig'd them to reduce *France* to the Treaty of the *Pyrenées*; but only a Reserve was made by one Article, which was, Unless it shou'd otherwise be agreed by Consent between them. That whatever *Spain* wou'd be content with, wou'd satisfy them; though they were both equally sensible of the Designs and Ambition of *France*, as well as of their ill Talent to the States. That they cou'd never hope for such another Conjunction, to reduce them to such Bounds and Measures as might be safe to their Neighbours, and give

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Quiet to *Christendom*. That 'twas now an ill time to enter into the Terms of a Peace between *France* and *Spain*, because he knew they shou'd have ill Grace to demand the Restitution of any Towns the *Spaniards* had lost in *Flanders* by the last War, and given up by the Peace that succeeded it; and yet His Majesty knew, as well as they, that without it a Peace cou'd neither be safe for *Flanders*, nor for *Holland*, nor consequently for *England*. But he believ'd there would not pass many Days before some decisive Action wou'd happen between the Armies, now not far distant in the Field, which wou'd make Room for the Negotiation of Peace that might succeed next Winter, in which His Majesty wou'd find the Interests and Humours of a Trading Country as theirs was, very strong, and dispos'd to press their Allies, as far as was possible, to facilitate so great and so good a Work. And for the rest of the Allies besides *Spain*, he had no reason to suspect any great Difficulties wou'd arise, so little having yet pass'd in the War between *France* and them.

The Pensioner was right in expecting some sudden Action between the Armies; for about the middle of *August* came the News of the battle of *Senneffe*, between the Confederates under the Command of the Prince of *Orange*, and the *French*, under the Prince of *Conde*: But it prov'd not an Action so decisive as was expected between two Armies of so great Force, and so animated by the Hatred and Revenge of the Parties, as well as by the Bravery and Ambition of the Commanders. The Success of this Fight was so differently reported by those engag'd in it, that it was hard to judge of the Victory, which each Side challeng'd, and perhaps neither with any great Reason. The Confederates had for some Days fought a Battle with great Desire and Endeavour; and the *French* avoided it, with Resolution not to Fight, unless upon evident Advantage, whilst both Armies lay near *Nivelle*, and not far distant from one another. The Reason of this was thought to be, on one Side, the Ardour of the young Prince of *Orange*, to make way, by a Victory, into *France* it self, and there revenge the Invasion of his Country; and at the same time, to make his first Essay of a pitch'd Bartel, against so Great and Renowned a General, as the Prince of *Conde*. On the other Side, this old Captain had too much Honour to lose, and thought he had not enough to gain, by entering the Lists with a Prince of Three and Twenty Years old, bred up in the Shade of a contrary Faction, till he was forc'd into the Field by the *French* Invasion of his Country. Nor was the Advantage less on the *French* Side in the Reputation of their Troops, than of their General; compos'd of excellent Officers, chosen Soldiers, exactly disciplin'd, long train'd for Action before they began it, and now flush'd by the uninterrupted Successes of two Wars. But the *Dutch* Troops, when the Prince of *Orange* enter'd upon the Command, were old or lazy Soldiers, disus'd with long Peace, and disabled with young unskillful Officers, (chosen by no other Merit, than that of a Faction against the House of *Orange*,) then fill'd up, when the War broke out, with hasty and undistinguish'd Levies, and dishearten'd with perpetual Losses of Towns and Defeats of Parties, during the two first Campaigns. The Prince of *Conde* had another Restraint upon the usual Boldness of his Nature in such Occasions, which was the ill posture he had been in at Court since this King's Reign, and in regard how much more he wou'd have no Answer for than another Man upon any great Misfortune to his Army, which must have left way open for the Confederates to enter *France*, and unguarded on that Side by any strong Frontier; so as no Man knew what Shake it might give to the

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Greatness of that Crown, with the help of great and general Discontents, whereof this Prince was thought to have his Share.

Upon these Dispositions in the Generals, the Battel was for some Time industriously sought and avoided; till the Prince of *Orange*, believing there was no Way of coming to a Battle, but by the Siege of some Place that might be thought worth the Venture to relieve, broke up, and march'd away towards *Senesse*; his Army divided into Three Parts, whereof the *German* Troops under the Count *De Souches* had the Van, the *Spanish* under the Prince of *Vaudemont* the Rear, and the *Dutch* under Count *Waldeck* the main Battle; with whom the Prince march'd, and commanded the whole Confederate Army.

The Prince of *Conde* observing their March, which was not far from one Side of his Intrenchments; and that by the Straitness of some Passages they were forc'd to file off in small Lines, stay'd 'till the Vanguard and main Body were over one of these Passes, and the Rear beginning to enter upon it; when he drew out his Men, and fell with great Fierceness upon the Rear of the *Spaniards*, broke them with great Slaughter, and not much Resistance, took their Baggage, several Standards, and many Prisoners of Note. The Prince of *Orange*, upon Notice of the *French* March towards the *Spanish* Troops, had sent Three Squadrons back to their Assistance, with all the Diligence that cou'd be; but the *Spaniards* already broken, brought the *Dutch* into Disorder by falling in among them; and the *French* pursuing with great Bravery, broke the *Dutch* Squadrons to Pieces, killing or taking all their Commanders, and several Standards.

If the Prince of *Conde* had contented himself with this Success and Execution, he had left no Dispute of a Victory; but lured on by the Hopes of one more entire, and Belief, the *Dutch*, whom he esteem'd the worst Troops, wou'd not stand, after the *Spaniards*, and a great Part of their own, were wholly routed, he follow'd the Chase; and drawing out his whole Army upon them, brought it to a set Battle, which was more than he intended. In the mean time the Prince of *Orange* marching to the Relief of the *Spaniards*, and the Squadrons he had sent, was at first envelop'd by his own flying Men, whom he cou'd neither stop by Words or Blows, by Promises nor Reproaches; 'till joyning the rest of his own Forces that stood firm, and the Imperialists coming up to enforce them, the Battle began with as great Fury as any has been fought in the whole Course of the Wars, continu'd so for about Eight Hours 'till Sunset, and about Two Hours after by Moon-light, 'till that failing to, the Fight ended, rather by the Obscurity of the Night, than the Weariness or Weakness of either Side. The Prince of *Orange*, in the whole Course of this Action, gave all Orders with such Prudence, and Observance of all Advantages, led up his several Squadrons with that Bravery, made such bold Stands against his own broken Troops, as well as against the Fierceness of their Pursuers, for Six Hours together in the hottest of the Fire; sometimes charging into the Midst of the Enemies, sometimes overborn by his own that fled, 'till he rallied them and led them back to the Charge; expos'd to more Danger than most private Soldiers in the Field; so that the old Count *De Souches*, in his Letter to the States upon this Occasion, told them, That in the whole Course of the Action, the Prince had shew'd the Conduict of an Old experienc'd Commander, and the Valour of a *Cæsar*. And indeed his

his Allies, his Friends, and his Enemies, agreed in giving him equal Glory from this Adventure. But he had more from none than from the Prince of *Conde's* Testimony, *That he had done like an old Captain in all, but only in venturing himself too much like a young Man.* Yet this old General had done the same in this Day's Action, as much as the youngest Cavalier in his Army cou'd do, when he found the Battle fought so desperately, and all at Stake; whereas 'tis certain, that nothing cou'd have given Vigour to the *Dutch* Troops, after the first Rout, but the repeated Examples and Dangers of the Prince, and Shame of not following such a Leader in all the desperate Charges he made that Day, which both the Generals seem'd resolv'd to die rather than to lose.

As the Numbers were not much different when the Fight began, so were those esteem'd that fell in this Battle, and to reach to about Six or Seven Thousand on either Side; but of the *French*, many more Officers and Gentlemen than was usual, in proportion to the Common Soldiers. When the Night parted the Armies, the *French* retir'd back to their former Quarters, and next Morning the Confederates march'd to that which they design'd when they broke up the Day before. The Allies claim'd the Victory because they were left upon the Field; and the *French* upon carrying away the greatest Number of Prisoners and Standards: But whoever had the Honour, they both felt the Loss.

After the Repair necessary in each Camp upon this sharp Encounter, each Army took the Field again, and gave a general Expectation of another Battle before the Campaign ended: The Prince of *Orange* sought it all he cou'd; but the Prince of *Conde* chose and fortify'd his Encampments so, as not to be forc'd to one without apparent Disadvantage, and contented himself to observe the Motions of the Allies, to preserve the Towns of the *French* Conquests in *Flanders*, and prevent any Invasion of *France*, which was design'd this Summer with great Confidence by the Confederate Armies, both on this Side and that in *Alsace*, but with equal Disappointment; unless it were to Monsieur *Staremberg*, who, in the Beginning of the Campaign complaining of the Wine at the Prince's Table, the Prince told them, *He would make them drink good Wine in Champagne before the Summer ended.* He, who lov'd it well, desir'd the Prince to be as good as his Word; was afterwards taken at the Battle of *Senesse*, and carried to *Rheims*, with several *Dutch* Officers; where sitting down to Dinner, and finding the Wine excellent, he drank the Prince's Health, and said, *He would trust him as long as he liv'd for he had kept his Word, and made them drink good Wine in Champagne.*

The Prince of *Orange* finding no other Way of Action, sat down before *Oudenarde* in *September*; and had his end of drawing the Prince of *Conde* out of his cautious Marches, who came immediately to relieve it, and fight the Allies before they were ready to give an Assault to the Town. Upon Sight of the *French* Army, the Prince of *Orange* call'd a Council of War, and propos'd to draw out and Attack them immediately, before they were rested after their hard Days March. The *Spaniards* were content, but the Count *De Souches* would not agree to it; and so this Occasion was lost, and with such Discontent among the chief Officers, that next Day the *Germans* left the Trenches, and march'd away about a League, and left Room to the *French* to put what Relief they pleas'd into the Town. Upon this the Prince of *Orange* was forc'd to rise too, with the rest of his Army; and upon Conte-

nances with the Count *De Monterey*, as well as *De Souches*, resolv'd to leave the greatest Part of the *Dutch* Forces with the Count, and with the rest to go himself, and press the Siege of *Grave*. And here began those Dissentions among the chief Captains of the Confederates, that continu'd to ruin their Designs, and prov'd so fatal to them in the whole Course of the War; and against all Appearances, made good the *Spanish* Proverb, that, *Liga nunca cose grandes paxaros*; (*Birdlime never catches great Birds* :) the same Word signifying a League and Birdlime, and meaning, That as this never Catches great Birds, so the other never makes great Conquests, tho' it often does great Defences; Yet these first Divisions were endeavour'd to be cur'd by the Emperor's recalling the Count *De Souches*, and *Spain* the Count *De Monterey*, who were both thought to have main'd the Actions of this Campaign, or, at least, not to have seconded, as they might have done, the Prince of *Orange's* Vigour, in pursuing them to other sort of Successes than it ended with. The Prince having fail'd of what he propos'd in favour of *Spaniards*, was resolv'd to free his own Country from the last the Mark of their intended Servitude, before this Season ended. *Grave* was the last Town the *French* held in any of the Seven Provinces, and had been kept as a Magazine both of what had been taken in the other Places, and was not easily carried away when they quitted them; so as there was above Three Hundred Pieces of Cannon in the Town, a very full and brave Garrison, compos'd of the best Troops, and all that cou'd be added to the Fortifications of the Place, after the *French* took it, tho' it was before counted one of the best the *Dutch* had. It had been invest'd a Month before; yet the Prince found the Siege but little advanc'd at his Arrival; and the *Dutch* Soldiers, so rebuted with the brave Defence from within, that nothing cou'd have carried the Place at this Season, being about the Middle of *October* when the Prince arriv'd, but the same Humour of leading on his Men himself whenever they strunk, which can never be too much prais'd, nor too much blam'd in this Prince, because, as his Country and Allies wou'd have had no General if they had lost him, so they wou'd have had no Army, if they had not recover'd him. In short, by this and his usual Application and Vigour, as well as the common Methods of such Sieges, he took *Grave* by the End of *October*, with equal Glory to himself, and Satisfaction to all the Provinces; and return'd to the *Hague* about the Middle of *November*, after having dispos'd his Forces into their Winter Quarters.

With the Prince of *Orange* return'd most of of the General Officers to the *Hague*, and among the rest old Prince *Maurice* of *Nassau*, who, as the Prince told me, had, with the greatest Industry that cou'd be, sought all Occasions of dying fairly at the Battle of *Senesse*, without succeeding, which had given him great Regret; and I did not wonder at it, considering his Age, of about Seventy Six, and his long Habits both of Gout and Stone. When he came to visit me upon his Return, and before he went to his Government of *Cleves*, it came in my Head to ask him an idle Question, because I thought it not very likely for me to see him again, and I had a Mind to know from his own Mouth, the Account of a Common, but much credited Story, that I had heard so often from many others; of an Old *Parrot*, he had in *Brasil*, during his Government there, that spoke, and ask'd and answer'd Common Questions like a Reasonable Creature; so that those

of his Train there generally concluded it to be Witchery or Possessions, and one of his Chaplains, who liv'd long afterwards in *Holland*, wou'd never from that time endure a Parrot, but said they all had a Devil in them. I had heard many Particulars of this Story, and assever'd by People hard to be discredited, which made me ask Prince *Maurice* what there was in it? he said, with his usual Plainness and Dryness in Talk, There was something true, but a great deal false, of what had been reported. I desir'd to know of him what was in the First? He told me short and Coldly, That he had heard of such an old Parrot when he came to *Brasil*; and though he believ'd nothing of it, and 'twas a good Way off, yet he had so much Curiosity as to send for it. That 'twas a very large, and a very old one; and when it came first into the Room where the Prince was, with a great many *Dutchmen* about him, it said presently, *What a Company of White Men are here?* They ask'd what he thought that Man was? Pointing at the Prince. It answer'd, *some General or other.* When they brought it close to him, he ask'd it, *D'ou venez vous?* [*Whence come you?*] It answer'd, *De Margnan,* [*From Maragnan.*] The Prince, *A qui estes vous?* [*To whom do you belong?*] The Parrot, *A un Portugais,* [*To a Portugeze?*] The Prince, *Que fais tu la?* [*What do you there?*] The Parrot, *Je garde les Poulets?* [*I look after the Chickens?*] The Prince laugh'd, and said, *Vous gardez les Poulets?* [*You look after the Chickens?*] The Parrot answer'd *Ouy moy, & jè le sçay bien faire,* [*Yes I, and I know how to do it well;*] and made the Chuck Four or Five Times that People use to make to Chickens when they call them. I set down the Words of this worthy Dialogue in *French*, just as Prince *Maurice* said them to me. I ask'd him, in what Language the Parrot spoke? and he said, in *Brasilian*. I ask'd, whether he understood *Brasilian*? he said, no; but he had taken Care to have Two Interpreters by him, one a *Dutchman* that spoke *Brasilian*, and t'other a *Brasilian* that spok *Dutch*; That he ask'd them separately and privately, and both of them agreed in telling him just the same thing that the Parrot said. I cou'd not but tell this odd story, because it is so much out of the Way, and from the first Hand, which may well pass for a good one; for I dare say this Prince, at least believ'd himself, in all he told me, having ever pass'd for a very honest and pious Man. I leave it to Naturalists to reason, and to other Men to believe as they please upon it; however, it is not perhaps amiss to relieve or enliven a busy Scene sometimes with such Digressions, whether to the Purpose or not.

Before I enter upon the Negotiations of the following Winter, it will be necessary to give a short View of the Actions of the several Armies, and Dispositions of the Parties in other Places, as well as in the *Low-Countries*, since all contributed to the different Humours that appear'd at the *Hague* about the Peace, which was indeed the present Scene of that Affair, as well as from his Majesty's Mediation, as the great Weight of the States in the Confederacy; but chiefly from the Person of the Prince of *Orange*, who seem'd to be the Spirit or Genius of the whole Alliance, and for whom the rest, as well as the States themselves, had so great a Trust and Deference: For several of their Ministers made no Difficulty to tell me upon many Occasions, That their Masters wou'd not have enter'd into the present Engagements they were in, had it not been more upon the Confidence they had of the Prince's Personal Honour

Honour and Justice, than either the Forces or the usual Conduct of the States-General, especially in what concern'd the Foreign Treaties and Negotiations.

In *Rouffillon* little pass'd of Importance between the Forces there: The Thoughts of both Crowns were bent on that Side more upon reducing, or relieving *Messina*, that had made an absolute revolt from *Spain*, and endeavour'd to gain Protection from *France*, which was not difficult in this Conjunction; as that which might not only give a great Diversion to the *Spanish* Forces, but open a Way for the *French* into the Conquest of *Sicily*, and new Designs upon *Naples*, which had been the Stage of so many great Wars between the Houses of *France* and *Aragon*.

In *Germany* the Prince-Electors *Palatine*, *Mentz*, and *Trier*, had entered into League with the Emperor for the Defence of the *German* Liberty against all Strangers. *France* was so enrag'd against the Elector *Palatine* upon these Measures he had taken, that Monsieur *De Turenne*, at the Head of a *French* Army, march'd into his Country, and made such cruel Ravages in it, and so unusual to that General's common Procedures, that the Elector sent him a Challenge; which Monsieur *De Turenne* answer'd he could not accept without his Master's Leave, but was ready to meet him in the Field at the Head of his Army, against any that he and his new Allies would bring together.

This Prince, spighted at the helpless Ruine of his Country, prov'd the greater Incentive among the *German* Princes this Summer to joyn their Forces, in order to some vigorous Action against *France* on that Side. The Duke of *Lunenburg* engag'd first, and afterwards the Elector of *Brandenburg*, in the common Cause of the Empire's being invaded; *Strasburg* was prevail'd with to throw off the Neutrality they had enjoy'd since the War began, and declare for the Empire in this Quarrel. The new Bishop of *Munster* entered into the same measures, and all together made a considerable Force, that they brought into the Field, on t'other Side the *Rhine*, about the end of *August*, or beginning of *September*. The Old Duke of *Lorraine* joyn'd them with his Troops: The Duke of *Lunenburg* was there in Person; and the Elector *Palatine* had the Command of the Army. They were divided, as well the Imperial Officers, whether they should enter upon any considerable Action or no till the Duke of *Brandenburg* came up, who was upon his March at the Head of a very considerable Army, that joyn'd the Confederates in *October*. This gave great Hopes and Designs of entering either *Lorraine* or *Burgundy*, or taking *Brisac*, or at least *Zabern* and *Haguenau*, and thereby securing their Winter Quarters in *Alsace*. Monsieur *De Turenne* play'd a defensive Game, with a small Army and ill handled by the Sicknels of the Season, *France* was at such a Pinch for Men, or Fear of an Irruption into their Country from *Flanders* or *Alsace*, that they call'd their Ban and Arriere-Ban, the assembling whereof had been long disus'd, and in a Manner antiquated. However with some of these new Troops, and a Reinforcement from *Flanders* after the Battel of *Soness*, Monsieur *De Turenne*, by plain Force of Skill, and that admirable Science in the Conduct of a War, which no Captain of his Age cou'd dispute with him, prevented and disappointed every one of the Confederates Designs, without ever coming to a Set Battle, tho' not without several sharp Fights of Part of the Forces upon Necessity or Advantage. So that the Winter ended with the Allies quitting the last Point they pretended,

pretended, and wou'd have been indeed decisive in the Issue of this Campaign, which was the *German Army's* quartering in *Alsace* and other Parts on that Side the *Rhine*.

The most considerable Loss or Event of this Campaign upon the *Rhine*, was the Death of the young Prince of *Brandenburg*, who died about the End of it at *Strasburg*, of a Fever so violent and precipitate, as gave Occasion for the usual Suspicions and Discourses that attend the Death of such young Princes as give great Hopes and Fears to their Enemies and Friends. This was the more consider'd for a particular and intimate Friendship between him and the Prince of *Orange*, who, though Cousin Germans, and engag'd in one common Cause, were yet nearer join'd by Likeness of Humours than of Interest, and by the Ties of Personal Kindness than of Blood; and I never knew the Prince of *Orange* more sensible of any Misfortune that happen'd to him than of this.

In all the Encounters mention'd on this Side, no Forces were oftner seen, or more felt, or gain'd more Honour for their Firmness and Bravery, than the *English* Regiments still remaining in the *French* Service, to whom the *Germans* attributed wholly *Monsieur De Turenne's* Successes as he did a great deal himself. But the Divisions among the Princes that made up the Confederate Armies, may justly be said to have had all the Merit that was not personal in *Monsieur De Turenne*; who was certainly allow'd by all that compar'd them to be the greatest Captain by much of his Age, in the Courie of a War or Conduct of a Campaign; tho' the Prince of *Conde* was thought greater in a Day of Battle, both as to the Disposition and Order of an Army, vigorous Enterprize, and sharp, as well as pertinent Resolutions, upon all sudden Emergencies, to which the Course and Change of a Battle is every way subject.

For *Sweden* and *Denmark*, they were not yet enter'd into the Lists, but seem'd now upon the Point of taking Party. *Sweden* had acted the Part of a Mediator ever since the breaking up of the Treaty at *Cologne*, both by their Ambassador at *Vienna* and the *Hague*, who plied both these Courts with very long and frequent Memorials to that purpose during this whole Summer; but they had been as hard ply'd themselves all that Time by the Practices and Advantages offer'd by *France*, both to that Crown, and the chief Ministers, to engage them in the War. Nothing seem'd so likely to determine them, as the Treaty and Expedition of the Duke of *Brandenburg* on the Confederate Side, which laid open his Country to the Invasion of *Sweden*, and gave them a Pretence of a Breach, in that Prince, of the Treaties between them, in making War against *France* without the Consent of the *Swedes*. Therefore, as soon as he was gone towards the *Rhine* with all the Strength of his Forces, the *Swedes* drew the best and greatest Part of theirs into *Pomerania*; and as the Duke of *Brandenburg* advanc'd in the common Designs against *France*; so *Sweden*, without declaring War, pursu'd their Measures with that Crown, and before the End of the Year had drawn their Forces into the *Brandenburg* Country, tho' without Attempt upon any Places, and even with Pretence at first of paying for their Quarters, which was reckon'd upon as short-liv'd among Soldiers in another Prince's Country, whether Friend or Enemy. The present Effect of this Inroad was the ending of another Pretence of that Crown, which was that of Mediation, and so devolving that Figure wholly upon His Majesty; and on the other Side giving Hopes to the Confederates of engaging

engaging *Denmark* on their Side, if for no other Reason, yet upon that old one among them, of being always opposit to *Sweden*, and their Interests or Allies.

As soon as the Prince came to the *Hague*, I attended him, and after Compliments past, I acquainted him with what His Majesty had commanded me of his Personal Kindness and Esteem for His Highness; of his Resolutions to observe and cultivate his present Friendship with the States, and Desire to see a General Peace restor'd to *Christendom*, in which he intended to act wholly in Concert with his Highness, whose Opinion as to the thing, and the Conditions most necessary for his Highness to insist on, he very much desir'd to understand as soon and as fully as he cou'd. The Prince answer'd me with Expressions of Duty and Kindness to His Majesty, and Desires of a near Conjunction between the two Nations, which he thought alone cou'd make His Majesty safe at Home and Abroad. For the Peace, he said, tho' he cou'd make many Complaints of the Conduct both of the *Spaniards* and *Imperialists* since their Treaties; yet the States cou'd not, with any Faith or Honour, make a Separate Peace, upon any Terms that *France* cou'd offer them: That a General Peace cou'd not be made without leaving *Flanders* in a posture of defending it self upon any new or sudden Invasion, against which no Guarantees cou'd secure it: That *Sain* cou'd not, upon any Exchange, quit the County of *Burgundy*, nor *Cambray*, nor any thing in *Flanders* beyond the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, unless it were *Aire* and *St. Omer*. This, he said, was his Opinion; but if he might know the King's, and find it at all consistent with the Safety of his Country, and his own Honour towards his Allies, he wou'd do all he cou'd to bring it about, as he had already done the Point of His Majesty's Mediation, which was accepted both at *Madrid* and *Vienna*. I told him, That the King, having been the Author and Guarantee of the Peace at *Aix*, and not having yet seen the *French* beaten out of any Town that was given them by that Treaty, cou'd with ill Grace propose any thing to *France* beyond those Terms, unless it were upon some Equivalent. He reply'd resolutely, 'T were better going on with the War, let it last as long, and cost as much as it wou'd: That His Majesty might, if he pleas'd, induce *France* to whatever he thought just; and cou'd never shew him so much Kindness, as to bring him out of this War with Honour: If he wou'd not, it must go on 'till some Change happen'd in the Condition of the Parties, to make the Peace more necessary on one Side or other; how it wou'd fall out he cou'd not tell, and must leave to God, but he thought they had as fair a Game as the *French*: That he was sure they might have been absolutely beaten at *Senefse*, if the Court *De Souches* had so pleas'd, and have had a fair Blow for it again at *Oudenarde*: That he was sure *Germany* cou'd furnish more and better Men than *France*, and they were now in a manner united in the common Defence; and he hop'd the Emperor's Counsels and Conduct wou'd not be so betray'd as they had been: That however, he must perform what his own Honour, as well as that of the States, was engag'd in to their Allies, let it cost what it wou'd.

I imagin'd in what he said of the Emperor's Counsels, he reflected upon the Business of Prince *Lakowitz*, whose Disgrace made so great Noise about this time, and with Particulars so extraordinary of the *French* Practices in that Court, that they were very hard to believe, and very uncertain to know at that Distance, and even at *Vienna* it self; and therefore I wou'd

wou'd not enter into them with the Prince, nor shall I here, as being so-
reign to this present Scene.

There was one Point more I entred into with the Prince, which was
upon Occasion of the many discontented Persons in England, at the Course
of the last Ministry and War, who were suspected to have trinkled at
dealt with *Holland*, about raising Seditions, and perhaps Insurrections in
England, if the War continu'd, and the Dutch Fleets shou'd appear upon
our Coasts, which were like to be unguarded the next Summer by the
Streights His Majesty was in for Money to set out a Fleet. It was believ'd,
among many others, my Lord *Shaftsbury* was one that had of late play'd
this Game; who having been as deep as any Man in the Counsels of the
Cabal, and gone so far in the publick Applause of them, as in a Speech
in Parliament to have apply'd the *Valenda Carthago*, [*Carthage must be
destroy'd*], to our Interest in the Destruction of *Holland*; yet when he
saw the Parliament and Nation fallen upon it, and that the King cou'd
not pursue it with so much ill Humour in both, he turn'd short upon the
Court, and the rest of the Cabal, fell in with the popular Humour in the
City as well as Parliament, decried the present Designs and Conduct, tho'
with the loss of his Chancellor's Place, and was believ'd to manage a
Practice in *Holland* for some Insurrection here. I told the Prince what
the King suspected of some of his Subjects, without naming any; how
much Service it wou'd be to His Majesty to know them more certainly,
and how kind it wou'd be in his Highness to discover them. The Prince
was stanch, and said, He was sure the King wou'd not press him upon a
thing so much against all Honour, as to betray Men that profess'd to be
his Friends. I gave His Majesty an Account of all that pass'd between
the Prince and me, which was thought at Court both Cold to His Maje-
sty, and stiff as to the Peace; and I had no Returns or Orders upon it;
but within a Week or Ten Days I had Notice, that my Lord *Arlington*
and my Lord *Offory* intended to make a Turn into *Holland*, with Monsieur
Loys and his two Sisters, to make a Visit to their Friends at the *Hague*;
and about the beginning of *December* they arriv'd in the King's Yachts,
but without any sort of Character, or Show of Business.

My Lord *Arlington* brought me a Letter from the King, written all with
his own Hand; and telling me he had sent him to set right some impor-
tant Points between His Majesty and the Prince, which ought not to lie
longer in doubt, recommending to me all the Assistance I cou'd give him,
and assuring me of His Majesty's Confidence and Kindness. His Lord-
ship brought the most ample Credential likewise that cou'd be from His
Majesty to the Prince, who still gave me part of all that pass'd between
them, with as much Openness and Freedom, as e'other did with Coldness
and Reserve; and thereby lent me many Lights that I cou'd not other-
wise have had, to discover the Mystery of this Journey and Affair, which
swam in great part a Secret to my Lord Treasurer himself, whom yet His
Majesty was thought to trust at that time as much as he had ever done any
of his Ministers.

My Lord *Arlington*, who had been at the Head of those Measures that
the King entered into during the Ministry of the Cabal, and the War
with *Holland*, in Conjunction with *France*, found himself something dis-
satisfied, with his Master, upon the ill Issue of that Affair, and the
Necessities which forc'd him to a Separate Peace, both from the Wapra
of his Treasury, and Discontent of his Parliament and People in general.

By the Degree this Lord's Favour declin'd, the Earl of *Darby's* em-
creas'd, who succeeded my Lord *Clifford* in the Treasury, which had ever
been my Lord *Arlington's* Ambition. This gave him an implacable Envy
and Hatred against my Lord *Darby*, which no Offices of Friends could e-
ver allay. He was not well with the Nation, for having had such a part
in breaking the Course of the Triple Alliance and making that with
France, for the Ruine of *Holland*; and, as was commonly thought, for
some Ends more displeasing at Home. Yet when the ill Humour of the
Parliament had broken the Designs of the Cabal, and made my Lord
Shaftesbury lift his Sails and sail into the popular Stream, my Lord *Ar-
lington* had gone so far upon the false Scent, as to join with the Duke of
Ormond and Secretary *Coventry*, to perswade the King to remove the Duke
wholly from Court and publick Business, as a Means to appease the Dis-
contents of the Parliament, upon some Jealousies of the late Conduct of Af-
fairs had rais'd among them. By this Counsel my Lord *Arlington* had
very much offended the Duke; and finding himself ill with his Royal
Highness, with the Parliament, and every Day declining in Credit with
the King, he thought there was no way of retrieving his Game, but by
making himself the Instrument of some secret and close Measures that
might be taken between the King and the Prince of *Orange*. He first in-
fus'd into His Majesty the Necessity and Advantage of such a Negotia-
tion, and then that of his being employ'd in it, from the Interest his La-
dy's Friends and Kindred in *Holland* would be able to give him, as well
as from the Credit he having been so long in the Secret of the King's Af-
fairs, and so best able to give them such Colours as might render the late
Conduct of them less disagreeable to the Prince. Tho' he profess'd great
Friendship to me, yet he represented me as unlikely to be treated with
such a Confidence from the Prince as was requisite in this Affair, for ha-
ving been so intimate with Monsieur *De Vois* in my former Ambassy;
and gave the Prince's Unwillingness to see me during the Campaign, as
a Testimony of his Dislike, or at least Indifferency to me. He propos'd
going over with all the Auxiliaries that were like to be of any Succour
in this Expedition, carrying not only my Lady *Wilmington*, but Madam
Beverwen her Sister, who had something in her Humour and Conversa-
tion very agreeable to the Prince; Sir *Gabriel Sybaur*, who took himself
to be in great Credit in that Court, where he had serv'd long, and par-
ticularly with Monsieur *B. de Witt*. Nor was it forgot to carry over Dr. *Bu-
rel*, as a Man fit to practise Monsieur *De Mire*, a French Minister, who was
thought to have Credit with the Prince; and my Lord *Ossory* was known to
have a great Part in his Kindness and Esteem, as well from his Marriage
into the *Beverwen* Family, as from his Bravery so much applauded in all
Actions where he had been, which was a Quality lov'd by the Prince, tho'
employ'd against him.

My Lord *Darby* had been made to believe, that a Letter from the
Prince to Monsieur *Ossory*, then one of the *Dutch* Ambassadors in *England*,
had given Occasion for this Journey, as if the Prince had desir'd some
Person there from the King, with whom he might enter into the last
Confidence; but the Prince assur'd me there was no such thing, and that
Monsieur *De Ravigny*, the French Minister at *London*, had more Part in
this Journey than he, or perhaps any Body else; and that all the Endeav-
ours us'd towards a Peace came from that Side.

However instructed, at least thus accompanied, my Lord *Arlington* came
to the *Hague*; where he told me at our first Meeting, that he came over

to set right some things between the King and the Prince, that he doubted were amiss, and to settle a perfect Kindness and Confidence between them for the time to come: That to do this, he must go to the bottom of the Sore, and rake into things past, which was an unpleasant Work, and which I cou'd not do, as having no part in the King's Business during that time wherein the Prince took his Offence at our Counsels: That the King had chosen him for this Office, because he cou'd best justify His Majesty's Intentions towards his Highness in the whole Course of that Affair: That for the Peace, tho' His Majesty desir'd it, yet he wou'd not meddle in it, unless the Prince of himself made any Overtures about it; but wou'd only endeavour to give the Prince what Lights he cou'd as to the State of things in general, and what he might hope from his Allies, as well as from France: That if the Prince made no Advances to him upon it, he wou'd let it fall, and leave it in my Hands, to be persw'd by the Orders I shou'd receive: That he knew very well such a Commission as his might look unkind, if not injurious, to another Ambassador, and that he wou'd not have come, if any other had been here; but the King, as well as he, reckon'd so far upon the Friendship between us, that they were both confident of my being easie in it, and giving him any Assistance he shou'd want from me, which he wou'd acquaint me with as the Matter proceeded. He said besides, That after having fought the King's Battle with the Prince, he must fight another of his own, who did not deserve the Coldness his Highness had of late express'd to him; and when this was done, all his Business was ended here, and the rest wou'd be only seeing his Friends, and finding some Diversions from a new Scene: That he desir'd I wou'd, according to the Forms, bring him and my Lord Ossory the first time to the Prince, and after that they wou'd see him no more in Ceremony, nor give me that Trouble.

I told his Lordship I was very glad to see him, let his Business be what it wou'd: That I shou'd be gladder yet, that the King's Business shou'd be done, let it be by whom it wou'd, but much more, that it might be by him: That for setting Matters right between the King and the Prince, I thought it the best Office cou'd be done them both: That for the way he mention'd, of raking into the Sore, and fighting Battles in Defence, or Justification of what was past, I knew not what to say to it, but wou'd leave it to his own Prudence; but from what I knew in particular of the Prince's Humour and Thoughts, whatever he did of that sort, I believ'd shou'd be very gentle, and not go too deep; and for my own part was always of Opinion, That *Expostulations were very apt to end well between Lovers, but ill between Friends*: That I wou'd send to the Prince for an Hour; and when I had brought him to his Highness, I wou'd leave him there after the first Entrances were past, and desir'd no other part in this Affair than what he thought necessary to give me; whenever he did, I shou'd serve him the best I cou'd in so good an Endeavour; and for the rest, I shou'd leave the Field free to my Lord Ossory and him, while they staid at the Hague, as to all that was Secret: As to the rest, I desir'd they wou'd make what use they pleas'd of me and my House.

My Lord Arlington took all I said very well; said, 'twas not necessary I shou'd leave them after I had introduc'd them to the Prince, but in such manner as I saw he wou'd not dislike it, or have any Body thought to have any part in the Success he expected: So next Morning I brought them to the Prince, and after a Quarter of an Hour's Stay, left them together.

gether. The Prince would have had me stay, but my Lord *Arlington* said not a word; and I pretended some Letters press'd me, and so went away, and never saw them together any more while they staid at the *Hague*, unless at Dinner, or in mix'd and publick Company.

The Truth is, I was not the worse entertain'd during the Course of this Adventure; for my Lord *Arlington* told me every Day what he thought fit, of all that pass'd between them; and the Prince told me not only the Thing, but the Manner of it, which was more important than the Matter it self; for this had no Effect, but the other a great deal, and that lasted long. My Lord *Arlington* told me much of his Expostulations, and with what good Turns of Wit he had justify'd both the King's Part in the late War, and his own; but that upon all he found the Prince dry and sullen, or at the best uneasy, and as if he wish'd it ended: That upon Discourse of the State of *Christendom*, and what related to the War he was engag'd in, he made him no Overtures at all, nor entred further, Than that the King might bring him out of it with Honour, if he pleas'd, and with Safety to *Christendom*; if not, it must go on 'till the Fortunes of the Parties changing, made way for other Thoughts than he believ'd either of them had at this time: That this might happen after another Campaign, which none but His Majesty cou'd prevent, by inducing *France* to such Terms as he thought just and safe for the rest of *Christendom*.

This was the Sum of what my Lord *Arlington* pretended to have pass'd in three long Conferences; after which it grew so uneasy, between them, that he told me he had absolutely given it over, and wou'd not say a Word more of Business while he was there, and attended His Majesty's Orders after the Return of his Dispatches; but would divert himself in the mean time as well as he cou'd, see the Prince as often as he pleas'd at Dinner, or in Company, but ask it no more in private, unless the Prince of himself desir'd it; and upon the whole, gave all the Signs of being equally disappointed and discontented with the Success of this Undertaking.

The Prince on the other Side, told me with what Arrogance and Insolence my Lord *Arlington* had entred upon all his Expostulations with him, both upon the King's Chapter and his own: That it was not only in the Discourses of it, as if he pretended to deal with a Child, that he cou'd by his Wit make believe what he pleas'd; but in the Manner he said all upon that Subject, it was as if he had taken himself for the Prince of *Orange*, and him for my Lord *Arlington*: That all he said was so artificial, and giving such false Colours to things every Body knew, that he that was a plain Man cou'd not bear it, and was never so weary of any Conversation in his Life. In short, all the Prince told me upon it look'd spighted at my Lord *Arlington*, and not very much satisfy'd with the King's Intentions upon this Errand; tho' he said he was sure His Majesty never intended he shou'd treat it in the Manner he had, if he remembered that he was his Nephew, tho' nothing-else.

After the first Conversations, my Lord *Arlington* staid near Six Weeks in *Holland*, either upon contrary Winds to return his Dispatches, or to carry him away, often at Dinner with the Prince at Court, or at Count *Waldeck's*, or Monsieur *Odyke's*, or with me, putting on the best Humour and Countenance, affecting the Figure of one that had nothing of Business in his Head, or in the Design of this Journey, but at Heart weary of his Stay in *Holland*, and unwilling to return with no better Account of his Errand; and, as it prov'd, he had Reason for both.

I found the Pensioner and Count *Waldeck* thought: That the Rent of my Lord *Arlington* was to draw the Prince into such Measures of a Peace as *France* then so much desir'd; into a Discovery of those Persons who had made advances to the Prince or the States, of raising Commotions in *England* during the late War: into secret Measures with the King, of assisting him against any Rebels at Home, as well as Enemies Abroad; and into the Hopes or Designs of a Match with the Duke's Eldest Daughter: Tho' they said he found the Prince wou'd not enter at all into the First, was obstinate against the Second, treated the Third as a Disrespect to the King, to think he cou'd be so ill belov'd, or so imprudent, to need it; and upon Mention made of the last by my Lord *Offory*, he took no further hold of it than saying, *His Fortunes were not in a Condition for him to think of a Wife.*

Thus ended this Mystical Journey, which I have the rather unveil'd, because, perhaps, no other cou'd do it; not I, without so many several Lights from so many several Hands; and because, tho' it brought forth no present Fruits, yet Seeds were then scatter'd, out of which sprung afterwards some very great Events.

My Lord *Arlington* return'd, was receiv'd but coldly by the King, and ill by the Duke, who was angry that any Mention had been made of the Lady *Mary*, tho' it was done only by my Lord *Offory*, and whether with Order from the King or not, was not known: So as never any Strain of Court-skill and Contrivance succeeded so unfortunately as this had done, and so contrary to all the Ends the Author of it propos'd to himself. Instead of advancing the Peace, he left it desperate; instead of establishing a Confidence between the King and the Prince, he left all colder than he found it; instead of entring into great Personal Confidence and Friendship with the Prince, he left an Unkindness that lasted ever after; instead of retrieving his own Credit at Court, which he found waining upon the Increase of my Lord *Danby's*, he made an end of all he had left with the King, who never after us'd him with any Confidence further than the Forms of his Place; and found my Lord Treasurer's Credit with the King more advanc'd in Six Weeks he had been away, than it had done in many Months before.

Whatever was the Occasion, *France* had this Winter an extream desire of a Peace; and left no way unattempted to obtain it, that might not too much discover the need they had of it. I suppose, they might apprehend what the Confederates reckon'd upon, with perhaps too much Assurance, That if they cou'd gain one Battle, they shou'd certainly enter *France*; and if ever they did, the ill Humours grown under this late Government wou'd certainly break out, and made way for all the Successes and Ravages they propos'd to themselves; or, at least, for such Terms of a Peace as wou'd leave all the Neighbours of that Crown in safety and Quiet. A Talk was set on foot of a Marriage between *Monsieur's* eldest Daughter and the King of *Spain*, in the Heat of the War: A Suspension of Arms was propos'd at *Vienna*, by Count *Oxenstierna* the *Swedish* Ambassador; and the sending Plenipotentiaries immediately after to treat the Peace, with offers, in case this were agreed to, that the Affairs of Prince *William of Furstenburgh* should be repi'd till the end of the Treaty, and Passports shou'd be granted for the Duke of *Lorraine's* Ministers, upon which Difficulties had been made: Practices were us'd with the Princes of *Brandenburg* and *Lunenburg*, to disjoyn them from the Common Alliance.

and. Add particular Intelligence was held between the Marshal *D'Effrades* and one who had been Pensioner of *Mastricht*, who communicated all his Letters to the Pensioner *Fagel*: But the Sum of all, was Instances for a Separate Peace between *France* and *Holland*; a Breach of their Measures with the House of *Austria*, and Return of the old ones with *France*, towards which they offer'd all the Advantages that cou'd be to the States in Point of Commerce, and all the Personal ones that cou'd be desir'd by a Prince of *Orange*.

But the Prince was unmoveable in the Point of not leaving his Allies; tho' he began to foresee he has like to play a hard Game with them next Summer in the Field, and perhaps a harder with the People at Home, who grew impatient for a Peace, both upon the cruel Taxes the War had rais'd, and upon the present Decay of Trade, as well as Apprehension, that with longer Continuance of the War, it wou'd run so far into a new Channel by *England*, as never to be retriev'd. Upon these Considerations the Prince resolv'd to make one Effort towards a Peace, with Honour, before this Season ended, and made all further Thoughts of it give way to the Actions of the approaching Campaign. His Scheme was this: That a Match shou'd be made between the King of *Spain* and *Mademoisell*: That *France* shou'd give with her in Dowry the late conquer'd Places in *Flanders*: That the King shou'd make this Match, and upon these Terms; and that he shou'd have Two hundred Thousand Pounds for his good Offices in it. By this Means a Peace wou'd be made with Safety to *Spain*, and to *Holland*, by securing again the Frontiers of *Flanders*; with Honour to *France*, who parted with the conquer'd Towns only as Dowry to a Daughter of *France*; without any Blemish to the Prince's Honour, or Faith in his Alliances; and with Honour and Profit both to His Majesty, which last was thought no unwelcome Circumstance at that time in our Court.

This the Prince and Pensioner having digested the best way they cou'd, and deduc'd to me, desir'd me to propose to the King; as the only way of making the Peace he so much desir'd; as a thing they were sure he cou'd do, and that *France* cou'd not deny him if he wou'd press it; and as the last Degree of Favour His Majesty cou'd express to the Prince, who cou'd no other way come out of this War with Honour. They desir'd me to write it to the King himself, and that nothing might be said of it to any other Person, 'till His Majesty shou'd return me his Opinion upon it.

I did so by Two Letters to the King, but had no Hopes given me that it wou'd be effect'd: Whether *France* took the Desires of the Prince for an Argument of his being weary of the War, or that he found the People were so; or whether they wou'd not end the War, without breaking the Force and Confidence of the present Alliance, or (as the Prince thought) without leaving *Flanders* open for another Invasion, when some better Conjunction shou'd make way for it; or whether the Revolt of *Messina* had given them Hopes of disabling *Spain*, by drawing their Forces on that Side, and dis-osing them to a Peace by this Wound in a Part so tender, and that might spread so far into *Italy*; or whether they had now absolutely engag'd the Crown of *Sweden* to enter into the War, and believ'd that by the Impression, that Crown wou'd make in *Pomerania*, they might not only recall the Duke of *Brandenburg* and his Forces from the *Rhine*, but if they succeeded, might so alarm the Empire on that

Side,

Side, as to break, or very much weaken any Conjunction of their Forces next Summer on this Side of the Rhine. However it was, this Attempt of the Prince fail'd, and so all further Thoughts of a present Peace ended, and left me only to pursue the cold Scent of a Mediation in the common Forms, while the Preparations were making on all Sides for a warm Summer in the Field.

The Prince this February went into Gelderland, to establish the new Magistracy there, according to his Office of Stadtholder. Whilst he was there, the Deputies of that Province, by unanimous Consent, made him an Offer of the Sovereignty of that Country, with the Ancient Title of Duke of Gelderland; which they pretended had been formerly in some of his Ancestors. The Prince said, He would give them no Answer upon an Affair of such Moment, without first advising with the other Provinces. He immediately writ to those of Holland, Zealand and Utrecht, to communicate this Offer to them, and demand their Advice upon it. Zealand return'd theirs against his accepting of it; grounding it upon the Jealousies it might raise in the other Provinces, and Inconsistence of it with the Constitution of their Union, which left none of the Provinces at Liberty to dispose of their Sovereignty without Consent of the rest. Utrecht return'd their Answer with Advice to accept it. Holland was longer, depending upon the Delays necessary in running the Circle of so many Towns: So that before it was concluded, the Prince, upon receiving the Advice of Utrecht, return'd them immediately his Answer, with Notice, That he had excus'd himself to the States of Gelderland, from accepting the Offer they had made him.

Nothing could more employ the busie Heads of this Time, than the Course of this Affair; some attribueing it to the Ambition of the Prince, and presaging the same Design upon the rest of the Provinces; others laying it to the Charge of some of his young Counsellors; others to a Design of sounding the Humour of the Provinces, and of having the Honour to refuse it, after they should all have advis'd him to accept it, as it was believ'd they would do. For my own Part, I can say nothing of it with Certainty, having never seen the Prince while it was upon the Anvil, nor discours'd with him upon this Subject, either before or after. But if it were an Ambition bent upon the Sovereignty of the rest of the Provinces, as well as Gelderland, it was a Design very different from all his Proceedings in the Course of the War, when France had proposed it to him with all the Advantages and Support that could be, and as different from what he had ever seem'd to understand, and to be as much perswaded of as any Man, That a Sovereign Prince in Holland would certainly and soon ruin the Trade, and consequently the Riches and Greatness of that State, and leave a Prince of it without Power or Consideration in the World; whereas the Prince of Orange, in the Post they have held for Four Generations, have entred into Wars and Treaties with a Regard and Weight equal to most of the Kings of Christendom. For young Counsellors that were thought to have engag'd the Prince in this Adventure, I cannot speak with more Certainty than of the Intention; but I am sure, if they were in it, they were not alone; Monsieur Fagel's having been for it; and Monsieur Broucker, who was never thought as staunch a Patriot as any Man among them, told me himself, that he had advis'd the Prince to accept it; which I believe he would not have done, if he had foreseen any Danger from it.

to his Country. But whether the Prince or his Friends had the Part that was commonly thought in the first Overture, 'tis certain an Interest of the Deputies and Magistrates, as well as Nobles of *Gelderland*, had a Share in it too. For whereas this is the first Province in the Union, and abounds with Nobles more than all the rest; yet, by reason of their Poverty from a barren Soil, and want of Trade, they are less considered than several other Provinces, and their Voice has been in a Manner swallowed up by that of *Holland*, who, by their Trade and Riches, have a great Influence upon those of *Gelderland*. The Deputies of this Province finding themselves yet less considerable in the Union than they were before the War, which had extremely impoverished their Country during the *French* Conquests, thought there was no Way of recovering such a Consideration in the State, as suited with the rank and Dignity they held; but devolving the Sovereignty of their Province upon the Prince of *Orange*. Besides, many of the Nobles there having Pretences for themselves or their Friends in the Military Employments, thought to make their Court to the Prince, upon whom those Charges depended, by advancing such a Proposition. And this was certainly a great Ingression into the first Conception of it, but whether conniv'd at, or seconded by the Prince, or his Friends, or with what Aims or Instructions, I cannot say; and so leave it as a Mushroom that grew up suddenly, and as suddenly wither'd, and left no Sign where it had grown.

At the Prince's return to the *Hague* in *March* 1675, I receiv'd a Letter from his Majesty's own Hand, desiring me of some Advice given him, That the Prince intended to come over into *England* again to the approaching Session of Parliament, and commanding me to hinder it, as if His Majesty believ'd the thing. I adventur'd to assure the King there could be nothing in it, before I saw the Prince; but when I did, I pretended not to have had it from His Majesty, but that I heard such a thing had been whisper'd to him. He said, Yes, and he believ'd by *Lord Arlington*, who had sometimes talk'd of that Journey after the Peace should be made; however it came, he was sorry the King shou'd believe it. That he was his Majesty's Servant; and if he cou'd do him no Service, he wou'd at least do him no Harm. But if the King wou'd sbe otherwise posses'd, he cou'd not help it; yet he desir'd me to assure him, there had never been any Grounds for such a Report. In the Afternoon the Prince came to me, and told me in great Heat, he had, since he saw me, receiv'd the most impertinent Letter from *Lord Arlington* that ever was upon that Subject, treating it as a Resolution certain and intended for raising Wars in the Parliament, and Com-motions in the Kingdom; telling him, 'Twas like to prove but an ill Friendship between the King and him, if it was to be made, and cause divisions. [*With Blows;*] and putting him in Mind, *Qu'il y a des playes entre vous, qui signifiant avecques luy, sur la main;* I had there and there wounds among you, which will wound a fresh if they be not cur'd. The Prince said he knew well enough what *Lord Arlington* meant by that Expression, for he had told Monsieur *Fauvel* in *England*, when he went over upon the first Motion of the last Peace, That the King cou'd make the Prince be serv'd at *Discretion*, if he wou'd set himself about it. Upon this he fell into the greatest Rage that ever I saw him in, against my *Lord Arlington*, calling this proceeding an ill counsel and insolent, saying, He wou'd write to him what he desir'd, but never have any thing

thing more to do with him beyond common Forms : That since he knew not how to trust the King's Ministers, he wou'd write to the King himself, and desir'd me to convey his Letters so as they might come to no other Hand.

Soon after Count *Waldeck* went to *Vienna* to concert the Actions of the next Campaign, where Count *Montecuculi* was appointed to command the Imperial Forces instead of the Duke *De Pournonville* ; and the Count *De Souches* was sent away into a Government in *Hungary*. In *North* the Elector of *Brandenburg* came to *Cleves* upon the same Concert, where he was met by the Prince of *Orange*, and the Marquess *De Grana* the Emperor's Minister : But the main Point debated here, was thought to be the Defence necessary to be made in *Pomerania* against the *Swede*, who began now to throw off the Mask, to ravage the Country, and to attack some Places necessary for their Quarters. The Money likewise paid that Court from *France* at *Hamburg* had been so publick and so avow'd, that none further doubted of a sudden and open Rupture from that Crown. Whereupon the States sent to *Montseur Eberstein*, (then *Swedish* Ambassador at the *Hague*, and who wou'd have kept still the Figure of a Mediator,) to put in no more Memorials to the States upon that Occasion ; since they cou'd nor receive them from a Minister, whose Prince had openly, and without Cause, attack'd one of their Allies.

At this Time arriv'd an Ambassador from *Denmark* at the *Hague*, to try what Advantages his Master cou'd make of this present Conjunction, by Terms of entering into the Alliance against *France* and *Sweden*. And all things being thus in the highest Fermentation, a sudden Damp fell upon the whole Mass of these great Affairs by the Sickness of the Prince of *Orange* ; which shew'd him to be the Spring that gave Motion to all the other Wheels ; for while his Illness lasted, and the Event was doubtful, all was in Suspence, and none of the Parties engag'd seem'd to have other Motions or Sentiments than what were rais'd by the Hopes or Fears of so important a Life. After some Days however he prov'd the Small-Pox, which had been very fatal in his Family, and gave the greater Apprehensions to his Friend, and his Country, who express'd indeed a strange Concernment upon this Occasion, by perpetual Concourse of People to enquire after every Minute's progress of his Illness. While it lasted, he had taken a Fancy hardly to hear or drink any thing but what came from my House, which the People after took Notice of as it pass'd ; and tho' perhaps few Foreigners have had the Luck to be better thought of or us'd in a strange Country, than we had ever been in *Holland* ; yet several of our Dutch Friends told us, that in Case any thing fatal happen'd to the Prince from this Disease, they believ'd the People wou'd pull down our Houses, and tear us all to Pieces, upon knowing what he took in his Sickness came from our hands. God be thank'd all pass'd without any bad Accident, tho' ill symptoms at first ; and the Recovery, next to the Blessing of God, was owing to the great Evenness of his Temper, and Constancy of Mind, which gave Way to no Impressions or Imaginations that us'd to be of so great Influence in that Disease ; so that it pass'd in the common Form, and within Twenty Days he was abroad, and fell into the present Business of the Scene, among which the Preparations for the Campaign

I cannot here forbear to give Monsieur *Bentick* the Character due to him, of the best Servant I have ever known in Prince's or private Family. He tended his Master, during the whole course of his Disease, both Night and Day; nothing he took was given him, nor he ever remov'd in his Bed, by any other hand; and the Prince told me, that whether he slept or not he could not tell, but in Sixteen Days and Nights, he never call'd once that he was not answer'd by Monsieur *Bentick*, as if he had been awake. The first Time the Prince was well enough to have his Head open'd and comb'd, Monsieur *Bentick*, as soon as it was done, begg'd of his Master to give him leave to go home, for he was able to hold up no longer: He did so, and fell immediately Sick of the same Disease, and in great Extremity; but recover'd just soon enough to attend his Master into the Field, where he was ever next his Person.

The Campaign happen'd to begin later than it us'd to do on the French side; both from the Expectation what the Prince's Sickness would end in, and from some Commotions succeeding one another about this Time in *Guylene* and *Britany*, upon Occasion of the Imposts or Gabels, which drew some of the French Forces into those Parts. But when those Troubles were ended, as they were by an unusual strain of Lenity and Clemency in composing them, all imaginable endeavours were us'd to prepare in France for the Campaign: The King intended to Attack *Flanders* in the Head of all the choice of his Forces, and with the greatest Vigour and Impression he could make this Year upon the Spanish Netherlands; yet the King pretended to be but a Volunteer in the Army, of which he declar'd the Prince of *Condé* General, whether to put the greatest Compliment he could on so great Merit, or to hinder his Brother from making difficulty of Acting under that Prince's Orders. And Monsieur *De Turcotte* was to be employ'd in *Alsace*, to attend and amuse as much as he could the German Army, for fear of giving the King too much Diversion in *Flanders*: And this with Orders to Act by concert with Count *Wanengel*, General of the Swedish Forces in *Pomerania*, who gave hopes of Marching so far into Germany, as to concert his Actions, or at least Motions with those of Monsieur *De Turcotte*. On the other side, the Confederates were actively in their provisions against these designs. The Elector of *Moscow* was drawn to throw off the remainders of his Neutrality, and to receive the Imperial Troops into his Towns, as *Strasbourg* had done; and Prussians were set on Foot to change the Temper of the Court of *Brandenburg*, with hopes of Success. *Monseigneur* prepar'd to come down into *Alsace* with the Army of the Emperor and the adjoining Circles; and the Elector of *Brandenburg* came to the *Rhine* after the Prince of *Orange's* Illness, where Treaties were concluded with the King of *Denmark's* Ministers, and renew'd with the Duke of *Lunenburg*. After which the Elector went immediately away to the relief of his own Subjects and Country, then invaded and spoil'd by the open hostility of the Swedish Forces. While he was at the *Rhine*, the Compliments pass'd in form between us, but without visit or interview, tho' the Elector desir'd and pursu'd it with more instance than I well understood: For he sent his Minister at the *Rhine* first to me, and afterwards engag'd the Prince himself to endeavour it, by proposing some Expedient in the Difficulties of Ceremony, or else by proposing a third Place. But the French Ambassadors having taken up a form of refusing to visit any Elector, unless they might have the hand given them in

those Princes Houses, and the Electors having never consented to it, I told the Prince I could not go lower than the *French* Ambassadors did, in that or any other point; and that meeting in a third Place would look like a sort of approving the refusal made by the Electors: And so I never saw this Prince during his Stay at the *Hague*; much to my Regret, because I had been possess'd of many qualities very estimable in him.

In the mean Time, how useless soever for the present, yet the forms of His Majesty's Mediation, went on. After it had been accepted by all Parties, the first Point that came to be consider'd was the Place of Treaty; about which, the *Swedes* could not surmount the difficulties during the course of their Mediation. The House of *Austria* propos'd to have the Congress in some of the free Towns of the Empire, as *Frankfort*, *Hamburg*, *Strasburg*, and some others; *France* refus'd ever to come into any Town of the Empire, upon the Insults they receiv'd and complain'd of so much, at *Cologne*, in the seizure of Prince *William* of *Furtemberg*, and a great Sum of the *French* Money there; but offer'd at the same Time to come and Treat at *Breda*, tho' belonging to one of the Parties engag'd in the War, which they would make pass for a great condescension, and Testimony of that King's inclination to a Peace.

The Confederates on the other side would not hear of *Breda*: They took that proposition as an artifice, first, to ingratiate with the States beyond the rest of their Allies: but next, which was the point of importance, they look'd upon it as design'd to carry on either a separate Treaty with the States, or at least Private Measures and Correspondencies with several Towns and Persons of those Provinces, so as to induce, or force the State at last into a separate Treaty with *France*, upon the Difficulties or delays that might arise in a General one. And upon this point the Allies were so jealous, that the States Deputies of the Foreign Committee, who managed all these Affairs in the first resort, thought it necessary to seem as averse against Treating in any of their Dominions, as any of the Allies. Thus all Places in *Germany*, *France*, and the Low-Countries, seem'd absolutely excluded by one part or other; and *London* was dislik'd by all, as too remote, and of difficult and uncertain Commerce for Letters, by Reason of the Sea. After much perplexity upon this Subject in many Conferences I had with the Deputies, and Discourses with the Pensioner, I propos'd two Places as the only I could think of left for any attempt, upon all Circumstances. The first was *Cleves*, which could not be said to belong to the Empire, but to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, as Duke of *Cleves*, and not as a Prince of the Empire. The other was *Nimeguen*, as being the last Town belonging to the States, and upon the Borders of *Germany*. Both Towns capable of such a reception as was necessary; both in good Air, and ease of Access from all parts; center'd between *Spain* and *Sweden*, between the Empire and *France*, and near *England*, where the Spring of this Treaty was conceiv'd to be. I thought *France* might not dislike *Cleves*, even upon those Regards the Allies suspected of the Vicinity to the States; and the Confederates cou'd not except against it, as belonging to one of them. On the other Side, if the Allies approv'd *Cleves*, and *France* shou'd refuse it, yet they cou'd not afterwards disapprove of *Nimeguen*, which was but Three Leagues nearer the *Hague* or *Amsterdam*, (where they suspected the *French* Practices,) and disjoin'd from both by necessary Passage of great Rivers, which made the Commerce more difficult and slow than it wou'd be from other Towns of the States Dominions. Another Reason was, That I knew no other to Name that did not seem previously

excluded : And upon this the Deputies consented that I shou'd propose both to the King, that he might do the same to all the Parties ; but that I shou'd begin with *Cleves*, which I did.

This *France* refus'd upon Pretence of some Dependance upon the Empire ; but, as was thought, upon Picque to the Duke of *Brandenburg*, with whom they were more offended at this Time than with any of the Allies. After this Refusal, *Nimeguen* being advanc'd, *France* first accepted it, and afterwards the Allies, who cou'd not well refuse it, after having express'd they wou'd have been satisfy'd with *Cleves* : And so this Place came to be fix'd for the Scene of this Negotiation.

But at the same time that *France* accepted the Place of Treaty, they declar'd, That they wou'd not however send any Ambassadors thither, 'till the Emperor had given them Satisfaction upon the two Points so long insisted on, of *Prince William of Furstemburg's Liberty*, and *Restitution of the Money seiz'd at Cologne* ; which were Points had been hitherto as obstinately refus'd at *Vienna*, as demanded by *France* : So as these Paces towards a Peace, gain'd at present very little Ground ; but left way for the Actions and Successes of the ensuing Campaign, to determine the Times, the Methods, and Conditions of the pretended Treaty.

The *French* began their Action by the Siege of *Limbourg*, with one part of their Army ; whilst the King, with the rest, lay encamp'd in a Post most convenient to oppose any Attempt of relieving it, to which purpose the Prince was upon his March ; but after a short and weak Resistance it was taken, before he cou'd approach it : For, besides some Delays forc'd by his Sickness, he began here to feel the Weight that hung about him in all the Course of this War, from the uncertain and slow Marches of the *German* Horse, and the Weakness and Disorders of the *Spanish* Troops ; which were necessary to make up his Army of Strength, to oppose that of *France*, compos'd of such Numbers, such brave and experienc'd Troops, and under so great a Commander as the Prince of *Conde*, and so gallant Officers.

After the taking of *Limbourg*, the *French* and Confederate Armies in *Flanders* fell into no considerable Action or Attempt : Neither daring to sit down before any place of Strength, whilst the other Army attended them, and was ready to relieve it ; and Neither seeming very earnest to come to a Battle (unless with evident Advantages) upon the loss of which so great Consequences seem'd to depend, as the *French* entire Conquest of *Flanders* on one Side, or the Confederates marching directly into *France* on the other, after any great Victory. Besides, they seem'd to be amus'd by the Expectation of what was likely to pass in *Germany*, both upon the *Rhine* between the *Imperialists* and *French*, and in *Pomerania*, between the *Swede* and *Brandenburg* ; which, without new Successes in the *Low Countries*, were like to decide in a great Measure, the Fate of this War ; whilst the Confederates equally presum'd of their Successes in *Allace*, and the *French* of those of the *Swedes* in the North.

About the end of *July*, the King of *France*, weary of a dull Campaign, left the Army to the Prince of *Conde*, and return'd with his Court to *Versailles* ; and the same Month, His Majesty seeing the Negotiations of the Peace laid at present asleep, sent for me to make a short Turn into *England*, and give an Account of all the Observations I had been able to make abroad upon the present Dispositions and Conjunctions, as well as receive his Instructions for the future Progress of his Mediation.

The Parliament in *England*, though much pleas'd with the last Peace with *Holland*, yet were not so with His Majesty's Desires of a General one. They

though

thought the Power of *France* too great since their last Conquests in *Flanders*; and their Ambition too declar'd, of atchieving it by one Means, and at one time or other. They were suspicious of the Court's favouring too much the *French* Designs, by pursuing a Peace that wou'd break so mighty a Confederacy as was now united against *France*. They were jealous of the Councils which had made the late Alliance and Kindness between us and *France* in the time of the late Cabal. And besides these Regards, and the common Notions of balancing the Power of our Neighbours, which were very popular; the ambitious Designs of private, but unquiet or aspiring Men, fell in to augment and blow up the general ill Humours upon the more publick Accounts.

The Lord *Shaftsbury*, impatient at his Fall from so great a Share of the Ministry, and hoping to retrieve a Game he was forc'd to give over, had run desperately into the popular Humour, both in Parliament and City, of censuring the Court, exclaiming against our Partiality to *France*, but most of all against the Conduct of the present Ministry. And Lord *Arlington* was so enrag'd at the Growth of my Lord Treasurer's Credit, upon the Fall of his own, that he fell in with the common Humour of the Parliament, in fomenting those Jealousies and Practices in the House of Commons, which center'd in a Measure agreed among the most considerable of them, Not to consent to give the King any Money whilst the present Lord Treasurer continu'd. Upon these Occasions and Dispositions, they grew very high in pursuing the Lord *Lauderdale*, the only Remainder of the Cabal, that had now any Credit left at Court; and they press'd the King very earnestly, to recall all the *English* Troops in the *French* Service, though there was a greater Number in the *Dutch*: But besides, they fell into so great Dissentions between the two Houses, rais'd upon punctilious Disputes, and Deductions of their several Privileges in opposition to one another, that about the end of *June* the King prorogued them.

Upon my arrival soon after, His Majesty telling me the several Reasons that had mov'd him to it, said, That he doubted much, while the War lasted abroad, it wou'd give Occasion, or Pretence for these Heats that had of late appear'd in the Parliament, and make him very uneasy in his Revenue, which so much needed their Assistance: That some of the warm Leaders in both Houses had a Mind to engage him in a War against *France*, which they shou'd not do for many Reasons; and, among the rest, because he was sure, if they did, they wou'd leave him in it, and make use of it to ruine his Ministers, and make him depend upon them more than he intended; or any King wou'd desire. But besides all this, he doubted an impermanent Quarrel between my Lord Treasurer and Lord Chamberlain, did him more Disservice in the Parliament than I cou'd imagine: For the last did not care what Harm he did his Business there, so he cou'd hope to ruine my Lord Treasurer; and had perswaded a great many in the House of Commons, that this wou'd certainly be compass'd, if they were stanch, and declar'd, in giving no Money during his Ministry: That he knew they were both my Friends, and therefore desir'd I wou'd try to reconcile them while I staid in England. I endeavour'd it, but fail'd: My Lord *Danby* was very inclinable, being so posited as to desire only to continue where he was, and that the King's Business might go well in his Hands; but my Lord *Arlington* was so uneasy in the Posture he stood, which he attributed chiefly to my Lord Treasurer's present Greatness, that he was untreasable upon this Subject: So when I found the Wound was too much wrankled to be cur'd, I gave it over, telling each of them, That since I cou'd not make them Friends, I wou'd at least live

with them both, as if they were so; and desir'd them not to expect I should sacrifice one Friend to another. My Lord Treasurer was content with this Frankness, but Lord Arlington could not bear this neither, grew dry from this time, and stiff in all that pass'd between us, still bringing little Reproaches, or Touches of my Greatness with the other; and grew so weary of the Scene at Court, where he found himself left out, that he went into the Country for the rest of the Summer.

Thus the Seeds of Discontents that had been sown in the Parliament under the Counsell of the Cabal, began to spring fast, and root deep, after their Power and Influence was wholly at an End; and those Heats were under other Covers fomented by two of the Chief that compos'd that Ministry, and with help of Time and Accidents, grew to such Flames as have since appear'd. But whatever began, or increas'd them, 'tis certain these Agitations in England had great Effect upon those of the War and Peace abroad: For the Confederates were confident, That the Humour of the Parliament and People would at last engage the King in their Quarrel, which they knew would force France to such a Peace as they desir'd; and Spain was so presuming, that England would not suffer the Loss of Flanders, that they grew careless of its Defence, or of those Orders and Supplies that were necessary to it, trusting for the present to the Dutch to preserve it, and to the King hereafter, whenever he should find it more in danger. And these considerations made the Allies less inclinable to a Peace, which they might have had cheaper the following Winter, than ever it fell afterwards to their Share, by Revolutions that were not foreseen, but yet such as were suspected at this time, by those that knew the Weakness of the Spaniards, and Divisions of the Imperial Courts.

While I staid in England, which was about Six Weeks, the News came of a great Insurrection in Brittain, which, with the Numbers and Rage it began, might have prov'd of ill Consequence to the French Affairs, if it had met with a Head answerable to the Body; but being compos'd of a Scum of the mean People, that hated and spoil'd the Nobles of the Province, it was by fair Means partly, and by foul, in a little time appeas'd. The Blow, which was much more considerable to France, than the Loss of Provinces, would have been, was the Death of Monsieur De Turenne, the News whereof came to Court about the same time. This great Captain had for 3 Months together kept the Imperial Army at a Bay on either side the Rhine; resolv'd not to fight unless with the greatest Advantage, his Point being to hinder the German Forces from besieging Philipburg, from posting themselves in the Towns of Alsace, but chiefly from cutting into Lorraine, or the County of Burgundy: All these he perform'd; but being press'd by the Imperialists, and straiten'd in his Quarters, he suffer'd much by want of Provisions, and found his Army diminish'd by Sickness and Desertion, which use to follow that Condition. At last, being necessitated for want of Forage, to force a Post of his Enemies that straiten'd him most, a warm Skirmish began, and with Loss to the French, who were kill'd with two Pieces of Cannon rais'd upon an Eminence, and playing upon them with Advantage. Monsieur De Turenne resolv'd to raise a Battery to dismount them; and going with Saint Aulaire, a Lieutenant General, to shut a Place the most convenient for it, the two small Pieces from the Imperial Side fir'd at them almost together: one of the Balls wounded Saint Aulaire in the shoulder; and other, at the same instant, knock'd him upon the Ground, struck Monsieur De Turenne upon the breast, and without any apparent Wound more than the Contusion, he fell dead upon the place, and by such a Death as Caesar us'd to wish for,

unexpected, sudden, and without Pain. The Affairment was insupportable in the French Camp upon the Loss of such a General; the Presumption as great in that of the Imperialists, who reckon'd upon themselves as Masters of the whole French Army, that was straiten'd between them and the Rhine, in want, diseas'd, and above all discourag'd by the Loss of their Captain. All others had the same Expectation upon this News, but all were disappointed; and Monsieur De Lowy, taking the Command of the Army, had the Honour of making a Retreat that was worth a Victory; and by the Force of Order and Conduct, with the Bravery of the English Troops, who made such bold Stands in several places, that they could not be broken till most of the Army were march'd off, he pass'd the Rhine in sight of part of the Imperial Army, and encamp'd himself on the other side in Safety, and so preserv'd it till the Prince of Condé was sent in half our of Flanders, with a great Reinforcement, to oppose the Progress of the Imperialists in Alsace.

In the mean time, the Election of Brandenburg drawing his Forces, with some Imperialists out of Silesia, together, fell upon the Borders in Pommerania, with that Bravery and Success, that he soon beat them out of his part of the Country, and pursu'd them into their own. He had an Interview with the King of Denmark, who was now enter'd into the Interest of the Confederates, resolv'd to declare War against Sweden; and to that end took his Measures with the Duke of Brandenburg, how to pursue it with the best advantage the rest of the Season.

When the Prince of Condé left Flanders, to succeed Monsieur De Thours in Alsace, the Duke of Luxembourg command'd the Army in Flanders; but with Orders not to hazard a Battle, and only to observe the Prince of Orange's Motions, and to cover any Town that was like to be endanger'd, which he perform'd so well, that no further Action pass'd this Summer, besides the Prince's taking and reizing of Binch. But to make amends for the inactivity of this Campaign in Flanders, the Confederates by Concert on all sides fell upon an Enterprize of great Edut, and of greater Consequence, which was the Siege of Trier. The Imperialists were bent upon it, to open a Passage that way into France, finding so much opposition in their Design of it by Alsace: The Spaniards desir'd it, to make way for their Invading Lorraine whenever it should be press'd, which was of the last Importance to them: The Duke of Lorraine was violently for it, in hopes of finding a way open'd for his Entrance into Lorraine: The Prince Palatine thought it the best Preparation for Relieving and carrying Rhinoweg, which was the Town in his Side. So small the Army of part of their Troops together, with some of the Eldest of Trier's, and a Body of the Luxembourg Forces under the Duke of Zell and Osnaburg, and lay down before Trier.

The Marshal De Crequi gather'd all the Forces he could out of the Neighbouring Provinces, and made up a strong Army to relieve it. The Confederates left part of theirs to maintain their Retrenchments about the Town, and march'd with the rest against Monsieur De Crequi, pass'd by a River in a night, and beat him out of the Field with great Slaughter, many Prisoners, and total dispersion of the rest, that the whole Army seem'd to have vanish'd in a Day; and Monsieur De Crequi got into Trier with some of his own Company. There he made a desperate resistance for several Days, against the victorious Army, with great Honour and Loss among the English Troops that were in the Town, and without any hopes of Relief; he was at last oblig'd to surrender, after all the Extremities he was oblig'd to by the Terms of a Siege, all the Garrison moving against his Obstinacy,

life, which none pretended to defend, but yet none to concern themselves in, till upon the last War he fell into his share of the Confederacy, with the weight of two or three Thousand *Lorrainers* that still follow'd his Fortune, and enter'd into Leagues with the Emperor and most of the Allies for his restitution. He seem'd not to deserve the Fortune of a Prince, only because he seem'd not to care for it, to hate the Constraints and Ceremonies that belong to it, and to value no Pleasures in Life, but the most natural and most easie; and while he had them, was never out of Humour for wanting the rest; Generous to his Servants and Soldiers when he had it; and when he wanted, endeavouring to mak it up by the Liberties he gave them; very much belov'd and familiar among both; And to give his Picture by a small *trait*, one of his Ministers told me, That nor long before he Died, all his family was, a Gentleman of the Horse, (as he was call'd) another of his Chamber, and a Boy that look'd so a little Nag he us'd to ride: One Day he call'd for his Horse; the two first told him, the Boy was not to be found; He bid them however get him his Horse: They could not agree which of them should go and Saddle him; till the Duke bid them go, and one or t'other of them do it, or else he Swore he woud go down and Saddle his Horse himself: They were asham'd; and 'twas done.

About the same time Died at the *Hague*, the old Princess Dowager of *Orange*; a Woman of the most Wit and good Sense, in general, that I have known; and who had thereby a great part in forming the Race of the Prince, and the mighty Improvement it receiv'd from three very extraordinary Women, as well as three so great Men in the last Descents. None has shew'd more the force of Order and Oeconomy than this Princess; who with small Revenues, never above Twelve Thousand Pounds a Year since her Husband's Death, liv'd always in as great Plenty, and more Curiousness and Elegance, than is seen in many greater Courts. Among other pieces of Greatness, She was constantly serv'd all in Gold Plate, which went so far as to great Bottles for Water, and a great Cistern for Bottles, to the Key of her Closet, and every thing of that kind She usually touch'd; which I mention, because I think 'tis what the greatest Kings of *Chrissendom* have not pretended to, nor any I have heard of on this side *Persia*.

In November this Year, happen'd a Storm at North-West, with a Spring-Tide, so violent, as gave apprehensions of some Loss irrecoverable to the Province of *Holland*; and by several Breaches in the great Diques near *Enchuyzen*, and others between *Amsterdam* and *Harlem*, made way for such Inundations as had not been seen before by any Man then alive, and fill'd the Country with many relations of most deplorable Events. But the incredible Diligence and unanimous Endeavours of the People upon such Occasions, gave a stop to the Fury of that Element, and made way for recovering next Year all the Lands; though not the People, Cattel, and Houses that had been lost.

Before the end of the Year, the *Danes* took *Wisnar* from the *Swedes*, and by an open War those two Crowns came to be engag'd in the common Quarrel: And after a great expectation of some extraordinary Successes in the Spanish Affairs from Don John's intended Expedition into *Italy*, to Command all the Forces and Provinces of that Crown both there and in *Seicily*, when he was ready to go and meet *De Ruyter* at *Barcelona*, who attended him there with the Dutch Fleet design'd for *Messina*, he was by a Court-Intrigue recall'd to *Madrid*: The King was then arriv'd in his Fourteenth Year, and took upon him the Government, as now in Majority; and by the advice

of some near him in Favour, writ a Letter to Don John to invite him to Court, to assist him in the Government: He obey'd, but staid not there above a Fortnight or three Weeks, till by the Credit and Authority of the Queen Mother, he was forc'd to quit his Ground there, and return to *Saragossa*. And so vanish'd a mighty expectation that had been rais'd in *Spain*, and other places, of great Effects that were to follow this Prince's coming to the Administration of Affairs, and very great Sums of Money were wholly lost that had been employ'd in the Preparations of his Journey and Equipage for *Italy*. And *Scilly* was left almost hopeles of recovery, from the Successes of the *French*, who had taken many Posts about *Maffina*, and threaten'd many more; and other Towns were fear'd to follow the Example of that great Revolt.

After the Prince's return from the Campaign to the *Hague*, in *October*, I had several Conferences with him upon the Subject of the Peace, and the Terms, that both His Majesty and the States might think reasonable between *France* and *Spain*, and both those Crowns be in any probability of consenting to. That which *France* pretended, was the Terms of the Peace of *Aix*, and retaining the County of *Burgundy*, which had been since Conquer'd; or if either this Province, or some of the most important Frontier Towns of *Flanders* should be restor'd, then an Equivalent to be made them for such Restitution. The *Spaniards* talk'd of nothing less than the Peace of the *Pyrenées*; and that they would rather lose the rest of *Flanders* by the War, than part with *Burgundy* by the Peace; and said, both the King and the States were as much concern'd in *Flanders*, as the Crown of *Spain*; and had the same Interest to see it safe by a War, or a Peace, which could not be by such a Frontier as was left by that of *Aix*.

That which my Lord *Arlington* had propos'd to the Prince and Pensioner, and which pass'd for His Majesty's Sentiment, tho' he pretended no Orders, was the Terms of *Aix la Chapelle*: But in regard of the necessity for the *Spaniards* to have a better Frontier in *Flanders* than was left by that Peace, That the *French* should give up *Aeth*, and *Charleroy*, and *Oudenarde*, for *Aire* and *St. Omer*: And that if they parted with the County of *Burgundy*, it should be for something in Exchange. His Majesty commended me to assure the Prince, That if a Peace could be made upon these Terms, or any so near them, that he might hope to obtain the Consent of *France*, His Majesty, for the Security of *Flanders*, would give his own Guaranty to the Peace, and enter into the strictest Alliance the States could desire for preserving it, or defending *Flanders* in case of a new Rupture. He bid me further assure the Prince, That for his Patrimonial Lands in *Burgundy* (which were about Eight Thousand Pounds a Year, and Lordships of the greatest Royalty in that Country) he would undertake for his secure possessing them, tho' that Country should remain in the *French* Hands; or for selling them to that King, and at what Price the Prince himself could think fit to value them.

The Prince's Answer was, That for his own part, he could be very well content to leave the Terms of a Peace to His Majesty himself, and believ'd the States would do so too; but they were both engag'd by Treaty and Honour to their Allies, and there was no thought of making Peace without them. That he believ'd the *Spaniards* might be perswaded to it upon the Terms of *Aix*, with Restitution only of *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, and *Oudenarde*, towards composing some kind of necessary Frontier on that Side; but to part with *Aire* and *St. Omer*, without any further and greater Exchange, he believ'd

view'd they would not in the present posture of things. That for France retaining the Country of *Burgundy*, as Conquer'd in this last War, he was sure neither Spain nor the Emperor would ever consent to it, unless they were beat'n into it by Disasters they had no Reason to expect; tho' for his own part, he should be content with it, provided the French would restore *Tour-wa*, *Courtray*, *Lille*, and *Denay*, with their Dependencies, to the Spaniards, in lieu of it; because by that means *Flanders* would have a secure Frontier on that side, and a reasonable good one by *Aeth* and *Charleroy* on the other; and the Security of *Flanders* was the chief Interest of the States upon the Peace. That for himself, he thank'd His Majesty for his Offer, as to his Lands in *Burgundy*; but they never came into his Thought upon the Terms of a Peace, nor should ever hinder it; but on t'other side, he would be content to lose them all, to gain one good Town more for the Spaniards in *Flanders*.

When I put him in mind, as the King order'd me, of the Apprehensions he and the States might have of the Greatness of the House of Austria, if their Successes continued; he told me, There was no need of that, till they should go beyond the Pyrenees; Whenever that should happen, he should be as much a Frenchman as he was now a Spaniard; but not before. He ended, in desiring that whatever Plan His Majesty thought fit to propose for a Peace, he would do it at the Congress at *Namur*; for the number and variety of Pretensions and Interests were grown so great, by all the Parties now engag'd in the War, that it could not be done in any other place; and for his part, he could never consent to any Treaty separate from his Allies.

That he believ'd they would be reasonable; and if France would be so too, the Peace might be made; if not, perhaps another Campaign might bring them so Reason; but that this might have done it, if some Differences between him and the Spaniards, in the Actions propos'd, had not hinder'd the Successes they hop'd for in *Flanders*, and if *Montecuculi's* Impatience to be at *Vilma*, and pass the Winter there, upon the Factions stirring at Court, had not made him repair the Rhine, and take his Winter-Quarters in the Circles of the Empire there; because if he had done it in *Alsace*, he doubt'd his Presence with the Army might be thought necessary.

After this Conference, and no Return from His Majesty to the Account I gave him of it, The Discourse ceas'd of private Measures to be agreed between His Majesty and the Prince and States, for promoting a Peace; and all Thoughts began now to turn upon forming the Congress at *Nimwegen*.

I had another Testimony given me of the firmness I had always found in the Prince upon the Subject of the Peace, by what one of the Spanish Ministers told me had lately pass'd between him and the Duke De *Villa Hermosa*. His Highness had a long Preference depending at *Madrid*, for about Two Hundred Thousand Pounds owing to his Family from that Crown since the Peace of *Amster*. It had ever been delay'd, tho' never refus'd: An Agent from the Prince had at late very much press'd the Queen Regent of Spain upon this Subject, and with much ado had obtain'd an Order for Fifty Thousand Pounds; and Bills were put into his Hands by the Ministers there, which when they arriv'd in *Flanders*, instead of being pay'd, were Protested. The Duke De *Villa Hermosa*, was so sham'd of this Treatment, that he sent a Reason purposely to excuse it to the Prince, and assure him the Fault was not in the Queen nor Ministers, but only in the choice of Hands, by which it was transmitted, and desir'd his Highness would not take it ill of the Queen. The Prince answer'd, No, not at all; on t'other Side, I have Reason to

take it well of the Queen, for if she did not think me the honestest Man in the World, she would not use me so: however, nothing of this kind shall hinder me from doing what I owe to my Allies, or to my Honour. Notwithstanding all I had written from the Prince to his Majesty upon this Subject, yet my Lord *Arlington*, upon pretended Intelligence from his Relations in *Holland*, endeavour'd to persuade him that he knew not the Prince's Mind for want of some Body that had more Credit with him than I had; and at the same time he pursu'd the Prince by Letters, to desire the King to send over some such Person as he might treat with in the last Confidence upon all matters between them. The Prince shew'd me his Letters, and bid me assure the King and my Lord Treasurer, that he could say no more than he had done to me; and would not say so much to any other Man. However, my Lord *Arlington*, upon the former Suggestions, prevail'd with the King to send over Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* Instructed, to know the bottom of the Prince's Mind upon the Subject of the Peace, before the Campaign began. He acquainted the Prince with this Resolution, and that he was a Person they knew his Highness would trust; The Prince shew'd me this Letter too, and said, He knew not what he meant; that Lord *Arlington* knew as well as any Man how far he trusted both Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* and me. This good Usage ended all Correspondence between Lord *Arlington* and me, which had lasted by Letters to this time, tho' coldly since my being last in *England*. But upon Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* coming to the *Hague* in *January*, and my preparation to go for *Nimeguen*: I ended that Scenery, having not learn'd enough of the Age, nor the Court I liv'd in, to act an un sincere Part either in Friendship or in Love.

When Sir *Gabriel* came to the *Hague*, he pass'd for a Man of some great Intrigue, was perpetually at Court, or in Conversation and Visits with the Persons near the Prince, or most employ'd in the State. But he and Lord *Arlington* were soon satisfy'd, to how good Purpose he came over; for the Prince, who is the sincerest Man in the World, hating all Tricks and those that use them, gave him no Mark of the least Confidence while he staid, and sent him away with a very plain one of the contrary, by trusting another Hand with all he writ of Consequence into *England*, before he went into the Field. The truth is, the Prince took this Journey of his to have been designed by my Lord *Arlington*, both out of Spight to me, and to give jealousies to the Confederates, by the Suspicion of something in Agitation between the King and the Prince that I was not thought fit to be trusted with. And indeed several of their Ministers at the *Hague*, were apt to fall into such Surmises: but Monsieur *De Lyra*, a *Spanish* Minister, a person much Credited in his own Court, and much in the Prince's Confidence, was ever firm in the Belief of his Highness's Honour and Constancy (which he us'd to say his Master trusted to more than to any Treaties,) and so help'd to prevent all such Impressions.

In the mean time, all motions necessary towards forming the Congress at *Nimeguen* began to be made by the several Parties, and gave appearances of the Ambassadors meeting suddenly there. The great obstruction hitherto had been the point of the Prince *William* of *Farstonburg* Liberty which *France* had absolutely insisted on before they sent their Ambassadors, and the Emperor had been induc'd to promise only upon conclusion of the Treaty. But an Expedient was found out to

save the Honour of *France* upon this point, rather than the Treaty shou'd be hinder'd, which was at that time thought necessary for their Affairs: The Bishop of *Strasburg* made a formal Request to the King of *France*, That no private Interests, or Respects of his Brother, might delay the Treaty of a Peace, which was of so much Consequence to all *Christendom*; and this Request being at this time easily receiv'd and granted, no further Difficulty was made upon this point.

His Majesty thereupon invited all the Princes concern'd in the War, to hasten away their Ministers to the Place of Congress, and acquainted them with his having order'd his own to repair immediately thither; and having some Months before appointed the Lord *Berkley* (then Ambassador at *Paris*) Sir *William Temple* and Sir *Lionel Jenkins* His Ambassadors, Mediators, and Plenipotentiaries for the Treaty of *Nimeguen*; Sir *Lionel* was accordingly dispatch'd away, and arriv'd at the *Hague* towards the end of *January* 1675, and brought with him our Instructions for that Ambassy; and after some few days Stay at the *Hague*, went away for *Nimeguen*. But the Expedition of the Passports, from and to all the Ministers in their several Parties, having been for some Time under my Care, and many of them come to my Hands, tho' others were entangled still in some Difficulty or other, we both concluded it necessary for me to continue at the *Hague* till this was dispatch'd; whilst Sir *Lionel* shou'd go upon the Place of Congress, and by the Presence of a Mediator, invite the rest to make more Haite than many of them seem'd dispos'd to at this Time.

The *French* Ambassadors were already come to *Charleville*, where they staid for their Passports only to go on with their Journey; and upon Sir *Lionel's* Arrival at the *Hague*, the *Dutch* Ambassadors came to us to acquaint us with the States Orders for their immediate repair to *Nimeguen*, and for the Magistrates of that City (which they now consider'd as a Neutral Town) to receive all Orders from us the Mediators, and particularly any we pleas'd to give about our Reception upon our Arrival there.

We told them His Majesty's Thoughts were upon the Successes of the Treaty, and that nothing cou'd more obstruct it than the Ceremonies which used to attend those Meetings; and therefore he order'd us to introduce as much as we could among all the Ambassadors, the Method of living there as much like private Men as cou'd consist with the Honour of their Characters; and to this End, that we shou'd make no publick Entries, and give thereby an Example to those that came after us.

To avoid all Punctilioes about the Time of the several Parties dispatching the Passports, it was agreed that all should be sent to the *Hague* from the several Courts, and there shou'd be put into my Hands; to the End, that when I found myself possess'd of them, I should make the Distribution reciprocally to both Parties at the same Time. I hole of *France* were early with me, but short in some Points of those from the Confederates; the Chief whereof was the Omission of Liberty granted to the Ambassadors to dispatch Couriers to their Masters Courts upon Passports of the respective Ambassadors, which was thought necessary for the Progress of the Treaty. Another was the Omission of Passports for the Duke of *Lorraine's* Ministers in the form usual and expected: For whereas the Crown of *France* had always treated the former Dukes of *Lorraine* with the Title of Duke, and Appellation of Brother; their

Passports were treated the new Duke only with Courtesy, and Prince Charles of Lorraine; the rest were minute Differences or Mistakes of Words, which are not worth the Mention, and were easily surmounted. Of all these His Majesty had early notice, and employ'd his Offices towards France for some Months, without Answer upon that of Lorraine, and with positive Refusal of inserting the Clause for liberty of Passports; tho' Monsieur Van Burenghem several Times, during this Pause, writ to the States, That the King often assur'd him (their Ambassador at London) that there should be no Difficulty in the Business of Lorraine.

About the Beginning of February this Year 1676, I receiv'd a Letter from Monsieur De Pomponne, then Secretary for foreign Affairs in France, to tell me, That his Master having been acquainted from His Majesty with the Difficulties occurring in forming the Congress, had order'd him to let me know his Reasons upon them. As to that of Courtiers, That he thought it not fit to have his Countries and Towns lie open to his Enemies Observations and Discoveries, upon pretext of such Courtiers frequent Passage; That the inconvenience would be the same to the Confederates; And that he ask'd no more than he gave. As to the Point of Lorraine, That his Master could not give Passports with the stile of Duke, which carried that of Brother; pretending that Dutchy belong'd to His Most Christian Majesty by the Treaty in 1662 between Him and the last Duke.

Not many Days after, I receiv'd notice from Secretary Williamson, of the same Account having been given His Majesty by Monsieur De Ravigny, with order to acquaint the States with it, which I had not done upon Monsieur De Pomponne's Letter, (as not thinking fit to make any pages in these matters without Orders from his Majesty. The States and all their Allies were very much surpris'd with this pretence of Lorraine, which France had never before advanc'd, or so much as mention'd, either upon the seizure of that Dutchy, or since that Time in the Accounts of it by their Ministers in the several Courts of Christendom; they had only profess'd to have found such a seizure necessary for preserving the Peace wherein Christendom then was, from the dangerous or uncertain Dispositions of that Duke, with whom His most Christian Majesty could take no certain Measures, and his Enemies would be prebailing; but that it was without any intention of retaining any part of that Dutchy, other wise than for this end of preserving the Peace of Christendom. All this, with many more Circumstances, Monsieur Berichamps, the Lorraine Envoy, alleg'd at the Conference with the States and Allies upon this Occasion; and for the Treaty of 1662, he seem'd to wonder it should ever be mention'd, as a thing wholly invalid, and, as every Body thought, thereupon long since forgotten; That the last Duke had no power to dispose of that Dutchy from his Nephew; because, if the Salique Law had place in Lorraine, it was unalienable from the next Male Male; if the Female Succession, then that Duke himself had no Title at all to it, but it belong'd to the present Duke even in the Life of his Uncle. Secondly, That it was invalid, by the French Non-performance of the only Condition on their side, upon which the Old Duke pretended to have made it, which was That the Princes of that Family should be assum'd into the Rank of Princes of the Blood in France; and that upon registering that Treaty of 1662 in the Parliament of Paris, without that Clause, the old Duke had declar'd it void within three weeks after it was made. Thirdly, That a Treaty was concluded the

Year after, being 1663, at *Marsal*, between the most Christian King and the said Duke; by which he was to continue in the possession of all his Territories, besides *Marsal*, in the same manner as he enjoy'd them by the Treaty of 1661, as he did till the seizure of them by *France* in 1670, during a profound Peace, and with the Professions above mentioned made by *France* to his Majesty at that Time (as Monsieur *Serinchamps* averr'd) as well as to the other Courts of *Christendom*.

These Arguments were of such force with all the Confederates, that they were unanimous and firm in positively insisting upon the Passports of that Duke, with the usual Forms; and the more, since *France* had advanc'd a pretence to that Dutchy, which was never thought of before among the Allies. The *Austrian* Ministers told me frankly, That the Treaty should never be without this allowance of the Duke of *Lorrain's* Title, nor the Peace without his Restitution. The States said, They for their parts would willingly refer this, and any other matters concerning the Treaty, to his Majesty's Arbitration; but that they were bound already by other Treaties to their Allies; and particularly, to the Duke of *Lorrain*; and could not break from them upon a Point of such apparent Right as this. The Prince spoke the same Language, and said further, That he was bound by his Oath of Stadtholder, among other things, to endeavour to the utmost of his Power to keep the States to due Observance of their Treaties; and so, by the Grace of God, he wou'd do in this as well as others.

All this being signified to his Majesty, and by him to *France*, that Court continu'd peremptory in the Matter; and the Allies persisting in the same Disposition, the Congress began to be look'd upon from all Sides as a thing ended before it began. The Allies took this Pretence for a Declaration from *France* of their Resolution there shou'd be no Treaty at present; and grounded it upon some great Expectation or Design they had upon further Progresses in *Sicily*, or new ones in *Naples*; or else from Hopes of bringing in the *Poles* to the Assistance of *Sweden*.

But the Truth was, That *France* had been forc'd to discover upon this Incident what they had always at Heart: And I ever observ'd in the Course of all these Negotiations, That there were Three Points for which *France* thought the War worth continuing to the last Extremity; which were, rather than restore *Lorrain*, or *Burgundy*, or leave a good Frontier on both Sides of the *Spanish* Territories in *Flanders*. The Two first would hinder the Progress of their great Design, whether of extending their Empire only to the *Rhine*, or beyond it: The last wou'd hinder their Conquest of *Flanders*, whenever they pursu'd the finishing of that Adventure; by leaving a Passage for the *Germans* to relieve it; and by so great and dangerous a Diversion as entering *France* through *Lorrain* or *Burgundy*.

His Majesty most certainly disapprov'd, and was surpriz'd with this Pretence of *France* to the Dutchy of *Lorrain*; but yet was prevail'd with by Monsieur *De Ruigny* to offer the Expedient of His Majesty as Mediator, giving all Passports necessary to the Congress of *Nimegue*. Monsieur *Van Brunningen* in this Matter acted the Part rather of a *Burgomaster* of *Amsterdam*, than an Ambassador of the States; and to make Court to that Town, which began to express great Impatience for the Peace, he assur'd His Majesty, That his Masters cou'd not fail of consenting to this Expedient. I foresaw it wou'd be refus'd, and gave his Majesty

Majesty Notice of it before I propos'd it to the States, as thinking his Honour, and that of the Mediation, concern'd in such a Refusal; but receiving direct Orders to propose it, I did so. The States told me, They wou'd of themselves consent to this, or whatever else His Majesty shou'd propose; but having communicated it to their Allies, they wou'd not hear of it; some refusing it with Heat, and Reflection upon His Majesty's Partiality to *France*; others with Sullenness and Silence, referring themselves to new Orders from their Masters.

Hereupon the Congress grew wholly desperate, and all Parties prepar'd for the Field; without any other View, for the Three Months following the first Rise of this Pretention. In the mean time there pass'd a Fight between the *French*, and *Dutch* and *Spanish* Ships, near *Messina*; wherein *De Ruyter* was shot in the Heel by a Cannon-Bullet, of which he died within few Days after, and determin'd the greatest Loss to have certainly happen'd on that Side, by that of the ablest Sea-Captain of his Age, and the best Servant that any Prince or State cou'd have: For the rest, the Advantage was not considerable on either part in this Fight, nor the Consequence material in the Progress of the *French* Arms in *Sicily*, or in any Prospect of great Enterprises upon *Naples*. On the other Side, the *Swedish* Affairs went very ill in *Pomerania*, and were threaten'd with great Invasions the following Campaign, both from *Denmark* and *Brandenburg*. This decry'd the Counsels of those Persons that engag'd them in this Quarrel. Two Ambassadors, Count *Oxenstiern* and *Olivecrona*, were appointed for the Treaty at *Nimeguen*, who had ever been of the Sentiments of the Faction which now began to prevail in the *Swedish* Court: They grew impatient for a Peace, and for the Treaty in order to it: They declar'd their Disapproval of the *French* Pretension rais'd to *Lorraine*, which seem'd only to obstruct it; and that they wou'd send their Ministers to the Congress, whether the *French* came or not: And their Commissary at the *Hague* so well seconded these new Dispositions of his Court, that whilst the Congress look'd desperate by the declar'd Obstinacy of both Sides upon the Point of *Lorraine*, Ships and Passports were dispatch'd by the States, with Consent of their Allies, to fetch the *Swedish* Ambassadors from *Gottenburg* into *Holland*.

The Confederates were besides much animated in their Hopes, from the Dispositions and Humours express'd in a late Session of Parliament in *England*; which grew so high against the *French*, or at least, upon that Pretence, against the present Conduct of His Majesty, of his Ministers, that the King prorogu'd them about *Christmas*, before any of the Matters projected by the warm Men amongst the House of Commons were brought into Form.

The *French* were upon their March into *Flanders*, and that King at the Head of a great and brave Army threaten'd some great Enterprize. The Prince was preparing to go away into the Field, with Resolution and Hopes of having the Honour of a Battle at the Opening of the Campaign; all Thoughts of the Congress meeting before the end of it were laid aside; when about the middle of *May* I was extremely surpris'd to receive a Packet from Secretary *Williamson*, with the *French* Passports for the Duke of *Lorraine's* Ministers, in the Form, and with the Styles demanded by the Allies. And hereupon all Difficulties being remov'd, the Passports were exchange'd by the end of *May*.

Some Days were lost, by a new Demand of the Allies for Passports likewise for the Duke of *Neuburg's* Ministers, who was newly entred into the common Alliance; and the same Paces were expected likewise from the Duke of *Bavaria* (at least so the *German's* flatter'd themselves or their Friends.) Upon this, some of the Ministers of the Allies at the *Hague*, whose Masters were very unwilling the Congress shou'd begin before the Campaign ended, prevail'd with the States to send Deputies to me, to demand Passports for the Duke of *Neuburg*, and any other Princes that shou'd enter into their Alliance; and to declare, That if these were refus'd by *France*, they wou'd look upon what had been already granted as void.

I was something surpriz'd at so unexpected a Message from the States; and told their Deputies, That such a Resolution was unpracticable; That His Majesty had undertaken to procure Passports for the Parties engag'd in the War, and all the Allies they had nam'd on both Sides, which was done, and thereupon the Congress ready to begin; and such a Delay as this wou'd occasion, was both a Disrespect to His Majesty, and that cou'd not be consented to by *France*, nor the Reciprocal of it by any of the Allies that foresaw the Consequences which might happen upon it; That some Ally of *France* might fall off to the Confederates, or some of the Confederates to *France*; and with such Circumstances, as it cou'd not be expected, either of them shou'd think fit to give Passports, or treat with them at the Congress; nor was it a Thing in any Form, to demand Passport without naming for whom they shou'd be. After several other Exceptions, the Deputies desir'd me, to let them represent my Reasons against it to the States, and to expect their Answer till the next Afternoon; and one of them told me as he went out, That I had all the Reason in the World, and that they had been too easie in it upon the Instances of some Allies. Next Day the Deputies came to let me know the States had alter'd their Resolution, and desir'd only, That His Majesty wou'd procure Passports for the Duke of *Neuburg's* Ministers; which I easily undertook. This Chang'd had not pass'd without violent Heats between the States Deputies and the Ministers of some Allies, who press'd them so far, that one of the Deputies answer'd him, *Que pretendex vous donc, M. sieurs, de nous faire déchirer par la Canaille?* [Do you intend then, Gentlemen, to make us be torn in Pieces by the Rabble?] Which shews the Disposition that ran so generally at this Time throughout the Trading Provinces towards a Peace.

There remain'd now but one Preliminary undermin'd, which was, to fix some Extent of Neutral Country about the Place of Congress: *France* wou'd have extended it two Leagues round; the Allies wou'd have bounded on one Side by the River *Waal*, upon which *Nimwegen* stood, and was divid'd by it from the *Setuwe*, a part of the Province of *Holland*, and through which lay the strait Road into the rest of that Country. Both these Proposals were ground'd upon the same Reason: That of *France*, to facilitate the Commerce of their Ambassadors with the Towns of *Holland*, incite the Desires, and enter into Practices of Peace distinct from the Motions of the Congress; That of the Allies, to prevent or encumber the too easie and undiscover'd Passage of the *French* Emisaries upon this Occasion. However, both were positive in their Opinions; so as this Matter came not to be determin'd till some time after the Congress began, and but lamely then.

C H A P. II.

THE Prince was now ready to go into the Field, and told me, That before he went, he must have some Talk with me in private, and at leisure; and to that purpose desir'd it might be in the Garden of *Honfleur dyck*. We appointed the Hour, and met accordingly. He told me, he wou'd easily believe, That being the only Son that was left of his Family he was often press'd by his Friends to think of Marrying, and had many Persons propos'd to him, as their several Humours led them: That for his own part, he knew it was a thing to be done at one time or other; but that he had hitherto excus'd the Thoughts of it, otherwise than in general, till the War was ended: That, besides his own Friends, the Deputies of the States began to press him more earnestly every Day, and the more, as they saw the War like to continue; and perhaps they had more reason to do it than any others: That he had at last promis'd them he wou'd think of it more seriously and particularly, and so he had, and resolv'd he wou'd marry; but the Choice of a Person he thought more difficult: That he found himself inclin'd to no Proposals had been made him out of *France*, or *Germany*, nor indeed, to any that had been mention'd upon this Occasion by any of his Friends, but that of *England*: That before he concluded to make any Paces that way, he was resolv'd to have my Opinion upon two Points; but yet wou'd not ask it, unless I promis'd to answer him as a Friend, or at least an indifferent Person, and not as the King's Ambassador. When I told him he shou'd be obey'd, he went on, and said, That he wou'd confess to me, during the late War, neither the States nor He in particular, were without Applications from several Persons, and considerable, in *England*, who wou'd fain have engag'd them to head the Discontents that were rais'd by the Conduct of the Court in that whole War, which he knew was begun and carried on quite contrary to the Humour of the Nation, and might perhaps have prov'd very dangerous to the Crown, if it had not ended as it did: That all these Persons, who pretended to be much his Friends, were extreamly against any Thoughts of his marrying in *England*; their Reasons were, That he wou'd by it lose all the Esteem and Interest he had there, and be believ'd to have run wholly into the Dispositions and Designs of the Court, which were generally thought so different from those of the Nation, especially upon the point of Religion, that his Friends there did not believe the Government cou'd be long without some great Disturbance, unless they chang'd their Measures, which was not esteem'd very likely to be done: And upon this he desir'd my Thoughts as a Friend. The next was upon the Person and Dispositions of the Young Lady; for tho' it wou'd not pass in the World for a Prince to seem concern'd in those Particulars; yet for himself, he wou'd tell me, without any sort of Affectation, that he was so, and in such a Degree, that no Circumstances of Fortune or Interest cou'd engage him, without those of the Person, especially those of Humour and Dispositions: That he might, perhaps, not be very easie for a Wife to live with; he was sure he shou'd not to such Wives as were general y in the Courts of this Age: That if he shou'd meet with one to

give him Trouble at Home, 'twas what he shou'd not be able to bear, who was like to have enough Abroad in the Course of his Life: And that after the manner he was resolv'd to live with a Wife, which shou'd be the best he cou'd; he wou'd have one that he thought likely to live well with him, which he thought chiefly depended upon her Disposition and Education; and if I knew any thing particular of the Lady *Mary* in these Points, he desir'd me to tell him freely.

I answer'd his Highness, That I was very glad to find he was resolv'd to marry, being what he ow'd his Family and Friends; That I was much more pleas'd that his Inclination led him to endeavour it in *England*: That I thought it as much for his Interest, as others of his *English* friends thought it was against it: That the King and his Highness wou'd never be able to do one another more Good, and more Hurt, than any other Princes cou'd do either of them, by being Friends or Enemies: That it was a great Step to be one Degree nearer the Crown, and in all appearance the next: That for his Friends (as they pretended) in *England*, they must see much further than I did, to believe the King in any such Dangers or Difficulties as they imagin'd: That the Crown of *England* stood upon surer Foundations than ever it had done in former times, and the more for what had pass'd in the last Reign; and that I believ'd the People wou'd be found better Subjects than perhaps the King himself believ'd them: That it was however in his Power to be as well with them as he pleas'd, and to make as short Turns to such an End; if not, yet with the help of a little good Husbandry, he might pass his Reign in Peace, tho' not perhaps with so much Ease at Home, or Glory Abroad, as if he fell into the Vein of his People: That if the Court were of Sentiments different from those of his Highness, yet his Advisers wou'd make him a greater Compliment in believing him as likely to induce the Court to his, as in concluding they wou'd bring him to theirs; and if that shou'd happen, the most Seditious Men in *England* wou'd be hard put to it, to find an ill Side in such a Match: That for the other Point, I cou'd say nothing to it, but that I had always heard my Wife and my Sister speak with all the Advantage that cou'd be of what they cou'd discern in a Princess so young, and more from what they had been told by the Governess, with whom they had a particular Friendship, and who they were sure took all the Care that cou'd be in so much of Education as fell to her Share.

After two Hours Discourse upon this Subject, the Prince concluded he wou'd enter upon this Pursuit; and in order to it, wou'd write both to the King and the Duke, to beg their Favour to him in it, and their Leave that he might go over into *England* at the end of the Campaign: That my Wife, who was then going over upon my private Affairs, should carry and deliver both his Letters; and during her Stay there, shou'd endeavour to inform her self the most particularly she cou'd, of all that concern'd the Person, Humour, and Dispositions of the Young Princess, in which he seem'd so much concern'd.

Within two or three Days after these Discourses, the Prince brought his Letters to my Wife, and went immediately to the Army, and she went suddenly after into *England* with those Dispatches, and left me preparing for my Journey to *Nimwegen* where the *Duke* first, and after them the *French* Ambassadors were arriv'd, and consequently those of the two principal Parties in the War.

Before I went, *Du Noulin* met my Chaplain in the *Voorhout*, and told him

him he was so ill, that he knew he had not long to live; and that he cou'd not die in quier, without asking my Pardon for so many false and injurious things as he confess'd to have said of me since my last Ambassy in *Holland*, tho' he had before had all the Esteem that cou'd be for me. He desir'd my Chaplain, since I had always refus'd to see him, that he wou'd do this Office for him, and ask'd my Pardon as from a dying Man. This *Du Mou'in*, after having been much employ'd and favour'd by my Lord *Arlington*, during the Counsels and Vogue of the Tripple Alliance, and disgrac'd by him after the Change of those Measures in *England*, went over into *Holland*, was entertain'd by the Prince as one of his Secretaries, grew into great Favour and Confidence during the War, was made use of by the Malecontents of *England* in their Applications at the *Hague*; and was thought worth all my Lord *Arlington's* Instances and Endeavours when he was at the *Hague*, to remove him from the Prince's Service. I receiv'd afterwards Commands to the same Purpose, and compass'd it not without Time and Difficulty: He had not been long laid aside when this happen'd; and whether that, or the Knowledge of the Princes late Resolution to pursue the Match in *England*, help'd to break his Heart; or whet'er it were a Consumption, as his Friends gave out, I know not; but he died soon after, and with him the Intrigues of that Party in *England*, that had for some time employ'd him, and busy'd his Friends in *Holland*.

After many Delays in the Dispatch and Exchange of the Passports, I got loose from the *Hague* about the beginning of *July* 1676, upon my Journey to *Nimwegen*, where the *French*, and the *Dutch* Ambassadors being already arriv'd, press'd very much for my coming, in regard Sir *Lionel Jenkins* excus'd himself from performing any Acts or Offices of the Mediation till my Arrival, and contented himself to pass only the usual Visits. The Dispositions I observ'd in the several Parties towards the Success of this Congress, when I went in order to the Opening of it, were very different, and very unlikely to draw it to any sudden Issue; but only to attend and be govern'd by the Successes of the several Armies in the Field, and the Events expected from the Actions of the Campaign. The *French* had given all the Facility they cou'd for some Months past to the forming of the Congress, and made all the haste they cou'd for their Ambassadors to be upon the Place, desiring no better Peace than upon the present Plan of Affairs; and hoping by their Forwardness, and the great Backwardness of some of the Allies, to make way for some separate Treaties with those among them who began to be impatient for Peace. The House of *Austria* was sullen, as Losers use to be, and so were very slow and resty in all their Paces towards this Treaty; the *Germans* hoping for great Successes of their Arms in this Campaign, and the *Spaniards* flattering themselves with the Interests His Majesty had in the Preservation of *Flanders*, and with the part which the Parliament in *England* seem'd of late to have taken in their Affairs; and both were in Hopes that something might arise from one of these Sides, to make room for Pretensions that cou'd not be in Countenance as things stood at present. The *Swede* was very earnest for a Peace, as having more Hopes of recovering himself that way, than by the Course of a War. *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* were violent for continuing the War, finding the *Swedes* weak, divided, and unrelieveable by *France* any otherwise than with their Money, and hoping to drive them this Summer out

Germany. The States were very desirous of the Peace, having no Prejudices of their own, but to get well out of a War that ruin'd their Trade, and drain'd their Money; but they durst not break from their Confederates, not trusting England enough, nor France at all, so as to leave themselves in a Condition upon either of them after the Peace shou'd be made. One general Thread ran through the Counsels on both Sides; on the French, to break the Confidence and Union of the Confederacy by different Paces and Advances to the several Parties in the Course of the Treaty; on the Confederates, to preserve the same Confidence and Union with which they had carried on the War, even after the Peace shou'd be made. His Majesty, tho' he was offer'd by some of the Parties to be Arbitrer, as well as Mediator, in the present Differences; and was known by them all to have it in his Power to make that Figure as he pleas'd; yet chose the other, and gave us Orders accordingly, only to perform the Offices of a bare Mediation, and to avoid the Parties submitting their Differences to his Determination: So that upon the whole, it was easie to foresee the Congress wou'd only prove a Business of Form; and proceed no otherwise than as it shou'd be mov'd, or rather govern'd by the Events of the Field.

However, the Opening of it might well be call'd the Dawn of a Peace; which put me in mind of the only Prophecy of this sort that I had ever thought worth taking notice of; nor shou'd I have done so, but that Monsieur Colbert shew'd it me at my coming to *Nimeguen*, and made me remember to have seen it in my Lord *Arlington's* Hands in the Year 1668, who told me it was very old, and had been found in some Abbey of Germany. It was in these Terms:

*Lilium intrabit in terram Leonis,
feras in brachiis gerens; Aquila move-
bit alas, & in auxilium venit filius
hominis ab Austro: Tunc erit ingens
bellum per totum terrarum orbem; sed
post quatuor annos pax elucescet, & sa-
lus erit filio hominis unde exitium pu-
tabatur.*

The Lilly shall invade the Land of the Lion, bearing wild Beasts in its Arms; the Eagle shall move its Wings, and the Son of Man shall come to his Assistance from the South: Then there shall be great War throughout the World; but after Four Years Peace shall dawn, and the Son of Man be deliver'd by those from whom his Ruine was expected.

Those who have a Mind to give Credit to such Prophecies from the Course of Events, must allow the *Leopards* (the Antient Arms of England) to be meant by the wild Beasts; the King of Spain by the Son of Man; the Congress at *Nim-guen* (Four Years after the War began) by the Dawn of Peace; and Spain's having been sav'd by the States and the Prince of Orange, by those from whom its Ruine was expected. But I easily believe, that as most Prophecies which run in the World, arise from the Contrivances of Crafty, or the Dreams of Enthusiastical Heads; and the Sense of them (where there is any) lies wrapt up in mystical or incoherent Expressions, fit to receive many sorts of Interpretations; and some perhaps from the Leisure of great Wits that are ill employ'd, and seek Diversion to themselves, by writing things at random, with the scornful Thought of amusing the World about nothing; so others are broach'd

broach'd for old, either after Events happen, or when they are so probable as to be easily conjectur'd by foreseeing Men: And it seems strange, that of the first Kind (be so many,) no more happen to be fulfilled, with the help of so much Inclination to believe, as well as so much Invention to wrest the Meaning of Words to the Sense pretended. But whether this I mention may not have been one of the last Kind, is uncertain; for in that very Year it was produc'd, and given my Lord *Arlington* by a *Frenchman*, (as he told me) the Design of this War was not only laying, but well advanc'd by the Practices of *Monsieur Colbert*, upon the Ministers of our Court, (where he was then Ambassador) and by the violent Humour of my Lord *Clifford*, to enter into the Leagues then projected by *France*; so that the very Day the Parliament gave His Majesty a mighty Sum of Money, to Compliment him upon so applauded a Counsel and Success as that of the Tripple Alliance in the Year 1668, that Lord coming out of the House of Commons, where he was then a Member, cou'd not hold saying to a Friend of mine who came out with him, That for all this great Joy, it must not belong before we have another War with *Holland*. And which of these two Prophecies were the more to be consider'd, or the better inspir'd, I leave it to every one to guess as they please.

Nimeguen is seated upon the side of a Hill, which is the last of *Germany*; and floops upon the River *Waal*, which washes the lower part of the Town, and divides it from the *Betuwe*, an island lying all upon flat low Ground, between the *Waal* and the old *Rhine*, which was the Antient Seat of those the *Romans* call'd *Batavians*, and, for their Bravery and love of Liberty, took into their Confederacy, when they subjected all the Neighbouring parts of *Gaul* and *Germany*. *Betuwe* and *Waal* were the Antient *German* Names, and turn'd into *Batavia* and *Vabalis* by the *Roman* Terminations, as *Cologne* and *Cleves* are *Roman* Names chang'd into *German*. *Betuwe* signifies in the old *German* fat Earth, as *Veluwe* (a great Heathy Country on t'other Side the *Rhine*) does course or barren Earth. Whether *Nimeguen* came from *Neomigum*, or *Neomagum* from *Nimeguen*, I cannot determine; but the old Castle, as well as many Antiquities found about it, shew it to have been a Colony of the *Romans*; and it is seated in very good Air, encompass'd on three Sides by great and dry Heaths, is well built, and inhabited by a good sort of People.

I excus'd my self from letting the Magistrates of *Nimeguen* know what Time I design'd my Arrival there, tho' they sent to inform themselves while I was upon the Way; and I refus'd any Ceremonies at Entry, to prevent that Pretence in o'her Ambassadors, and the Troubles and Disturbances such publick Receptions might occasion. However, I cou'd not escape some part of it, for which I had like to have paid a great deal more than 'twas worth. The River of *Nimeguen* is very rapid in the Midit of the Stream, which lies near the Town, and spreads very broad upon the other Side to the *Betuwe*, being upon flat Grounds. The first part of it is pass'd by a very large Ferry-Boat, which held at once my Two Coaches and Six Horses, one Waggon with my Trunk, Eight Saddle-Horses, and wou'd have receiv'd many more. This Boat is of a Contrivance so Singular, as well as so Commodious, that I have much wonder'd never to have seen it practis'd in any other Place; for the Force of the Stream drives the Boat cross the River without the least Pains of the Men, being kept to its Course by a strong Cable extended from one Side to the other, and fasten'd to a Pulley set up for that Purpose in the Boat;

so that no Strefs of Weather hinders this Passage; and the harder the Stream runs, the sooner 'tis made. Where the River grows shallow, and the Current slack; on the *Bitume* Side, it is supply'd by a Bridge of Planks for about two Hundred Paces, which are ill kept, many loose, or shaking, and no Defence on the Sides. When my Coaches were upon this Bridge, the Cannon of the Town began to fire, and so continued all the while I was upon the River; which was a piece of Civility well understood; but my Horses were so unruly with that Noise, and the Clatter of the Planks, that they were much likelier to have carried me into the River than into the Boat. But when, with the help of Servants on Foot, that led them, we got in there, we were safe as in a House, and got well away to the Town, where I landed at Sir *Lionel Jenkins's* House, and staid there till late in the Evening, to avoid any Visits or Ceremonies that Night.

The next Day I was visited by the *French* Ambassadors. With Monsieur *D'Avaux* pass'd little but what was common upon such Occasions; But the Marechal *D'Estrades* and Monsieur *Colbert*, being of my particular Acquaintance in my former Ambassies at the *Hague*, and *Aix la Chapelle*, pretended, in their first separate Visits, to enter with me upon Points and Terms of great Confidence, and upon Matters that gave me Light into the whole Design of *France* intended by the Steps of this Treaty, to which they had of late shew'd so great Forwardness, at least in the forming of this Congress, and Dispatch of their Ambassadors, before those of the Allies were in any Motion, or perhaps Disposition towards it. They both told me, That that they had express and private Orders from the King their Master, to make me particular Compliments upon the Esteem His most Christian Majesty had for my Person, and to make their Application wholly to me in the Course of this Negotiation, tho' one of us Ministers Mediators came from residing in their own Court; but they knew very well I had the King my Master's Confidence, as well as that of his Ministers; and that having had the Framing of this Congress from the first Overtures, and through all the Preliminaries, there was no other Hand but mine capable of finishing it; and therefore they presag'd me all the Glory of it: That I might reckon upon all the Facility their Master cou'd give towards it; but that after such Successes in the War, and at the Head of so great Forces both at Land and Sea, it cou'd not be expected he shou'd yield to restore what his Arms had conquer'd. On t'other Side, they knew very well, that though the States were bent upon the Peace, yet the Forwardness or extravagant Demands of their Allies, wou'd engage them as long as they cou'd in the War, unless the Prince of *Orange* wou'd interpose his Authority, which was so great with all the Allies, that they were sure of their consenting to whatever Terms the Prince shou'd be resolute in proposing for the Peace: That to draw it therefore to a happy Issue, there was no way but for his Highness first to agree privately with *France* upon the Conditions, and what every Party shou'd content themselves with; and afterwards, in the Course of the Treaty, to draw all things, by Consent together, to the Scope agreed between them; in which the Prince might make use of the known Temper, of the States to bring it to a sudden Issue, and to make a Separate Peace, in case the unreasonable Pretences of their Allies shou'd hinder or delay a General one: That this part was acted by the Elector of *Bavaria* at *Munster*, who was in private Concert with *France* through the whole Proceedings of that Treaty,

Treaty, tho' he went on with the Allies in the publick Transactions: That he o-v'd the Greatness of this House to this Counsel, and to the Consideration and Support it had ever since receiv'd from the Crown of France: That by pursuing the same at *Nimeguen*, it wou'd be in the Prince of *Orange's* Power to do the same for himself and his Family; and that for what concern'd his own personal Interests and Advantages, their Master had given them Power to assure him, he should have *Carte Blanche*, and draw his own Conditions upon it. That tho' they had other ways of making this Overture to the Prince, yet they had order to do it by none but me, if I would charge my self with it; that they knew the Credit and Confidence I was in with the Prince, and how far he would defer to my Opinions in what concern'd the publick Interests of his Allies as well as his own; And that if I would espouse this Affair, besides the Glory of having alone given a Peace to *Christendom*, I might reckon upon what I pleas'd my self, from the Bounty and Generosity of the King their Master.

This was the Sum of what was said by them both, tho' in several and private Visits; but I observ'd Monsieur *Colebert* to have been instructed with more particular Confidence, and to design it with me, even apart from both his Colleagues and mine, in the pursuit of this Intelligence; but Monsieur *D' Estrades* valued himself chiefly upon his entering into it with me preferable to all others, tho' he had several other ways of doing it with the Prince, as well as into what Practices he should think fit with the States, by the help of so many Friendships and Habitudes as I knew he had contracted in *Holland* during so long a course of Employments there.

I answer'd, That I was oblig'd to his Most Christian Majesty for his good Opinion, and to them for giving it to him, not having my self at all the Honour of being known to him; that I should make no ill use of this great Honour and Confidence, whether I should be able to make a good one or not: That for His Majesty's Dispositions to promote the Peace, they knew them as well as I: but that many Considerations had engag'd him to instruct the Mediators only to promote a general Peace, and not to enter into any Paces towards any particular one, or separate, between the Parties, which such a private and previous Concert between *France* and the Prince of *Orange*, would look very like; and therefore I did see how I could enter upon it without particular Orders from the King: That besides, I would confess to them, that I did not think they would be of any great Effect should I receive such Orders; and that the best Service I could do them, (the Ambassadors) was to let them know very freely all that I knew, or at least thought of the Prince of *Orange*, and his Dispositions in this great Affair, that they might the better guess what Paces to expect from him. That I was sure he desir'd the Peace as much as the States could do; that the weak Conduct of *Spain*, and distracted Counsels of the Empire, were enough to force him upon it, without many other Circumstances that were too well known to trouble them with. That the Prince knew very well there would be no difficulty at all in the Terms of a Peace between *France* and *Holland*, and that all would arise from their Allies, who had enter'd into the War only in their Defence; That their Faith and Honour were since engag'd by many Treaties concluded with them, and which hinder'd them from making any separate Peace; That in all those Treaties the Prince's Honour was more particularly

cularly engag'd, upon which personally the several Confederate Princes were known to rely more, than upon any publick Resolution or Instrument of the States. That if any ways could be found, or offers made towards bringing his Highness out of this War; with the safety of his Honour, by the satisfaction of his Allies, upon any sort of Terms, I was sure he would fall into them with all the Joy that could be; but to break from them against all Faith and Agreements, by separate measures, I believ'd he would never be induc'd. But by the last extremities of the War, or necessities at Home: And that for his own Personal Interests, I was confident no Advantages to be offer'd him, would ever be consider'd by his Highness, how great soever; but that two or three Towns, more or less, to the *Spaniards*, for the Strength of their Frontier in *Flanders*, would prevail more with him than all could be done for his Interest in *Orange* or *Burgundy*; and that all other Propositions of Advantages more than were avow'd in the course of the Treaty, were, I believ'd, what he would take ill from any that should make them; and yet whenever I saw him next, I would tell him of all that had pass'd in this Conversation: But for the Deference they believ'd his Highness might have for my Sentiments, I would assure them, my Opinion was, he had none for mine, or any Man's else, further than as their Arguments prevail'd upon his Judgment: That he had Sense enough to govern himself, and I believ'd he would always trust to it, tho' he might advise with other Men.

After these Conversations, during the time I stay'd at *Nimeguen*, Monsieur *Colbert* made many small Attacks of this kind upon me, and sometimes contented himself only to let fall some things in Conversation, to try if I was dispos'd to enter further upon that Subject: But the Marshal *D'Esprades* immediately after began to turn his Battery another way, which was upon the Pensioner *Pagel*, by the intervention of a Person of *Maestricht*, many of whose Letters the Pensioner shew'd me upon the same occasion; and with all the Offers that could be made of Consideration and Advantage to the Interests of the Prince of *Orange*; which met with no other Reception from his Highness than what I foretold.

After the first Visits between us and the *French* and *Dutch* Ambassadors, whom only we found at *Nimeguen*, we receiv'd a Visit from the Magistrates of the Town, who told us, they had order from the States to remit the Government of the City to our Disposition, during the present Treaty; and to proceed no otherwise in it, than according to such Orders as they should receive from us the Mediators. We told them, it was His Majesty's Pleasure, that we should not at all intermeddle with it, but that on the contrary, we should consign into the Hands of the ordinary Justice of the Town, any of our Domesticks that should be guilty of any Crime against the Peace or Government of the place; and that Justice should be done upon them, according to their Faults; and that we should not take upon us to withdraw or protect them from the ordinary course of Justice, by the Rights and Privileges of that Character His Majesty had given us.

After this we applied our selves to propose some Regulations for the Order and Quiet of so numerous an Assembly as this was like to prove; (in a Town but too strait, and compos'd of narrow Streets) and to the establishment of some compass of Neutral Country about it, for the convenience and divertisement of the Company that should compose it. For the first, we gave in a Paper to the *French* and *Dutch* Ambassadors, with

certain Articles, to which we desir'd their consent ; not doubting, but all others that should come after, would easily fall into what they should previously agree to upon our desire. They were these, as we gave them in French, the Language used in all Conferences, and most Papers, that pass'd in this Treaty.

1. Que pour éviter les inconveniens qui pourroient arriver par le grand nombre de trains dans des rues qui sont si étroites, & entre des coins si incommodes, Les Ambassadeurs Mediateurs proposent, De ne faire les visites, mesme celles de Ceremonie, qu' avec chacun Ambassadeur deux Pages & quatre Laquais ; & un Carosse, a deux Chevaux ; & de ne' aller a aucune place de Conference, ou autres lieux publics avec plus d'un Page & deux Laquais a chaque Ambassadeur.

2. Qu'en cas de rencontre de Carosses dans les lieux trop estroits pour le passage de l'un & de l'autre, chacun, au lieu de s'embarasser pour le pas, y apportera toute sorte de facilite, & s'arrestera premier quand il seralier premier averti que le passage est trop estroit, & fera place en cas que de son costé cela se trouve le plus facile.

3. Que les Laquais ne porteront espée, bâton ni baguette, par les rues, ni les Pages plus que de baguette seulement.

4. Que les Ambassadeurs sur aucun crime commis par aucun de leurs Domestiques contre la paix publique, renonceront a la protection des dits Domestiques, et les remettront aussitost entre les mains de la Justice de la ville, la prians et autorisans de proceder contre eux selon les regles ordinaires.

1. That for avoiding the Inconveniences which may happen by the great number of Trains in the Streets, which are so narrow, and Turnings so incommodious, the Ambassadors Mediators propose, Not to make any Visits, even those of Ceremony, with more than two Pages and Four Lackeys each Ambassador ; and one Coach, with two Horses ; and not to go to any Place of Conference, or other publick places, with more than one Page and two Lackeys to every Ambassador.

2. That when Coaches meet in too narrow places, where there is not room to pass by one another, every one, instead of contending for Precedency shall mind rather to make the Passage easie to each other, and stop first, if he have the first notice that the Passage is too strait, and give place to the other, in case it be more easie on his side.

3. That Lackeys shall not wear a Sword, nor carry a Staff or Stick in the Streets ; nor Pages any more than a little Stick.

4. That the Ambassadors, upon any Crime committed against the publick Peace, by any of their Domesticks, shall renounce all Protection of the said Domesticks, and deliver them up into the Hands of the Magistrates of the City ; desiring and authorising them to proceed against them according to their ordinary Rules.

5. *Qu' en cas de quelque insulte ou querelle fais par autum de leurs Deme-
stiques contre ceux d'aucun autre Am-
bassadeur ou Ministre Public, Les Am-
bassadeurs remettront tels Deme-
stiques entre les mains du Maistre de la Par-
tie offensée pour estre punis a sa dis-
cretion.*

3. That in case any Insult or Quar-
rel be made by the Domesticks of
one Ambassador, against those of a-
nother Ambassador, or publick Mi-
nister, the Ambassadors shall deli-
ver up such their Domesticks into
the Hands of the Master of the Par-
ty offended, to be punish'd at his
Discretion.

The *French* Ambassadors receiv'd this Paper with much Approbation
and Complement to us, upon the Design and Conception of it, and said,
they were ready to give their full consent to every part of it, excepting
only the second Article; but upon this they could not, without first ac-
quainting their Master, from whom they had orders to maintain, upon
all Occasions, the Rank that *Spain* had yielded to them by Treaty; so
that they could not stop, or make way for the Ministers of that Crown,
tho' they would do it for those of *Brandenburg*. We told them, we doubt-
ed not, but the Emperor's Ambassadors would be content to fall into the
General Rule for so good an end; and that for our selves the Mediators,
(who were out of all Competition by that Quality) we resolv'd to pra-
ctice it with the rest, and give the Example.

The *French* Ambassadors seem'd satisfied, in their own Opinions; but
however, desir'd they might first communicate it to their Court. The
Dutch Ambassadors wholly approv'd it, and resolv'd to conform their Pra-
ctice accordingly, unless they found other Ambassadors should decline it.
However, about a Fortnight after, the *French* Ambassadors, upon Dis-
patches from their Court, began to change their Language; and told us,
That for the first Article, Monsieur *De Pomponne* thought it not necessary
to restrain the Numbers of Ambassador's Trains, since they were well
provided against Disorders by the following Articles: That besides, this
would in a manner level the Ambassadors of the greatest Kings, with the
Ministers of smaller Princes, at least in the Eyes of the *menu peuple*, [*the*
Vulgar] who measure the Dignity of Persons by the Train that attend
them. For the second Article, they consented to it, with an Apostyle of
their own upon it, providing, That it should not prejudice the Rights of
any Princes, nor ever be drawn into Consequence in any other Place or
Time: We found by these Answers, That the *French* Ambassadors had
less Vanity than their Court, and wonder'd to find it so avow'd, and to
descend to Circumstances so low and so minute: For tho' Vanity be a
Weakness, or a Fault, that the fewest Men are without; yet it is that
of all others, that the fewest will own; and few private Men, though per-
haps affected with the Gazes and Opinions of the Rabble that fill the
Streets as they pass, will yet pretend or confess, to consider them. How-
ever, we thought best to let it pass, and the rather, because we knew it
was no more the Sense of the *French* Ambassadors than ours; for which
they had one more particular Reason, which was the Noise that ran of the
magnificent Preparations and Equipage design'd by the Marquess *De Bil-
lars* and Count *Antoine*, towards their Appearance in this Congress; the
First whereof was one of the richest Subjects of *pain*, Heir and Descen-
dent of the Famous *S. moles*, and the other had great Revenues from the
Duke of *Oldenburg*, (being his Natural Son) and was chosen by *De-*
mark

mark, on purpose to appear with Lustre in this Ambassy : And the *French* Ambassadors apprehended, either being outshined by these at their Arrival, or being engag'd in greater Expences upon the Vye than they expected from their Court ; which usually leaves those kinds of Services to future Rewards, by succeeding Employments and Advances, rather than present Supplies. When we receiv'd this Answer from them, we only said, Monsieur *Pomponne's* reasoning from the *menu Peuple*, [the *Vulgar*] seem'd a little below the Greatness of his Master, or the Style of a Great Minister ; but that we shou'd acquaint the *Dutch* Ambassadors with it, that they might be at Liberty to retract the Consent they had already given, since they, the *French*, seem'd to have done so ; but that, for our selves, we wou'd observe at least the Rules we had propos'd to others, and let them follow either the Rules, or Examples as they pleas'd. The *French* wou'd by no Means allow to have refus'd them, and said, They had only told us Monsieur *Pomponne's* Reflections upon them ; but that they cou'd not absolutely consent till they had concerted with their Allies, the *Swedish* Ambassadors, whose Arrival they daily expected, However, tho' they were by these wholly approv'd, yet the *French* Ambassadors, during the Assembly, made all their first Visits with the three several Ambassadors's Coaches and Six Horses, and the whole number of their Train ; which sometimes reach'd further than the Space between their Houses, and of the Ministers where the Visit was paid. But we continued to make ours only with two Horses, and the Number of Servants we had propos'd ; and the rest of the Rules were observ'd by all with so good Effect, that for one whole Year I resided there together, there never happen'd any Disorder or Complaint from so numerous Trains.

For the Neutral Country, we at first propos'd, by Concert with the *French* Ambassadors, to extend it about three Leagues, so as to take in the Town of *Cleves*, which has been always celebrated for one of the pleasantest Seats of *Germany* ; but upon transmitting this Proposal to the *French* Court, a Resolution came back to their Ambassadors, to admit only 2 Leagues from *Nimeguen*, and that to continue subject to Contribution, and to Execution, upon failure of that being paid, as was usual to the Garrison of *Maastricht*. This we thought unpracticable, with the Safety of the Ambassadors, or their Retinues, that shou'd make use of a Neutrality subject to Inroads of arm'd Troops upon Pretence of Contribution, and admitted of many Disputes. The *French* Ambassadors had Orders from their Court, to go out of Town upon any Occasion of Airing and Entertainment : The *Dutch* desir'd us to let the *French* know, the States cou'd not be answerable for their doing it safely, till a Neutral Country were establish'd without being liable to Contribution. After some time, rather than continue Prisoners to the Town, or venture the Inconvenience or Danger of Parties ranging within the Bounds of a Neutral Country, a Compass was agreed, about two *English* Miles from the Town ; and mark'd out with several great Posts erected to that Purpose, within which all Persons shou'd have Liberty, and no Soldier shou'd be suffer'd to come in upon any Pretext whatsoever.

Several Pretensions were rais'd at the Opening of this Congress, (which was reckon'd from the time of two Mediators Arrival upon the place) about the Right of several Princes to send Ambassadors, and many Disputes arose upon them. It had been agreed at the Treaty of *Munster*, that every Elector shou'd be allow'd to send a Minister thither, with

the Character of Ambassador; but if they sent more than One in Commission, that the First only shou'd be treated with Excellence, and other Ceremonies of Ambassadors. This Rule we agreed to follow at *Nimegue*: And the Elector of *Brandenburg* sent two Ambassadors thither; but we treated the First only with the usual Ceremonies, and left the other to his Pretences and Complaints. The *French* follow'd our Example: and the other Ambassadors did some One, some the Other, according as their Interests engag'd them to comply with that Elector in this Pretence.

Upon Admission of the Electors to send Ambassadors to the Congress, the same Pretence was soon after rais'd by the Dukes of *Lorrain*, *Neuburg*, and *Luxemburg*: Much Altercation was us'd upon this Subject; but the Presidents alledg'd, not being found without Dispute, the Thing lay quiet, and their Envoys arriv'd after some time at *Nimeguen*.

We agreed neither to give the first Visit, nor the Hand, in our Houses, to any Character under that of Ambassador; not to other Persons of Quality, that were not either Counts of the Empire, or General Officers of Armies.

There was no Dispute about the Rank with the Mediators, the *French* having first yielded it by Order of their Court, till the *Imperialists* came; who neither yielded nor refus'd it, but seem'd desirous to have that Mark of Distinction allow'd between the Emperor's Ambassador, and those of all other Crown'd Heads. We held on our Pretence of it from these, as well as the rest; but kept it from coming to any Decision till the very Signing of the Treaty; finding the Emperor not inclin'd to yield it, and knowing that if it were refus'd there, the Admission granted by the rest might come to be retracted upon that Example.

The other Ambassadors were left to their usual Pretences: That All shou'd yield to them; and the rest, of None yielding to one another; in which the *Swedes* carried the Point, even with their Allies the *French*, as nicely and positively as any others.

The *Swedes* arriv'd about the middle of *August*, sent first to us, and then the *French*, to notify their Arrival. This happen'd late in the Evening; so we deferr'd our Compliments and Desires of an Hour till next Morning. The *French* made theirs the same Night to Monsieur *Oxenstierna*, first in Commission; who gave them an Hour the next Morning; and to our Secretaries, who came to them about that time, they gave an Hour in the Afternoon. The Visits were made accordingly: But upon our insisting that the first Visit ought to be return'd to the Mediators, from whomsoever the first shou'd be receiv'd; the *Swedish* Ambassadors, after some time to consider it, determin'd the Point, and made us the first Visit, tho' the *French* had first made it to them. And this was observ'd by the Ambassadors that afterwards arriv'd during my Residence there.

I remember no other Points of the Ceremonial that seem to have been establish'd by the Course of this Assembly; unless it was one particular to our selves, who declar'd that we wou'd Dine with no Ambassador till the Peace was concluded, being desirous to avoid the the Trouble and Engagements of perpetual Invitations, as well as the Unkindness of Excuses, at one time, or to some Person, more than another; but our own Tables were open, each of us three Days in the Week, two Post-days being reserv'd to our selves for Business, and one for Diversion or Exercise abroad; and several of the Ambassadors, especially the *French*, came to our Tables, notwithstanding this Resolution, which they seem'd to take

a little to Heart. And to make Amends, we divided the Nights by Turns. Where there were any Ladies in the Ambassador's Houses, and where the Evenings were spent in Dancing or Play, or careless and easie Suppers or Collations; in these Entertainments, as I seldom fail'd of making a Part, and my Colleague never had any; so it gave Occasion for a good Saying that pass'd upon it, *Que la Mediation estoit toujours en pied pour faire sa fonction*, [That the Mediation was always in a Posture to go on with its Business:] For I us'd to go to Bed, and rise late; while my Colleague was a Bed by Eight, and up by Four: And to say Truth, two more different Men were never joyn'd in one Commission, nor agreed better in it.

For Business, there was very little for many Months after the Congress began, till the Arrival of the Imperial Ministers; only the French Ambassadors, soon after my coming, demanding an Audience, came to make us the Offer of exhibiting their *Plein-Pouvoirs* [Full Powers] into our Hands, not doubting, as they said, of the Dutch being ready to do the same. But upon our acquainting the Dutch Ambassadors with this Overture, they told us, That it was in the Choice of the French Ambassadors to do it when they pleas'd; but they did not conceive the hastening of it wou'd gain any time, since they had no Orders to make that Pace without a previous Concert with their Allies; and consequently, tho' the French shou'd do it, yet they wou'd, at present, neither exhibit their own, nor make any Reflections (as might be necessary) upon those of the French. From this Answer, the French took Occasion to press the Dutch extreamly, upon making Instances to all their Allies to hasten to the Treaty, or else, to declare, that they wou'd enter into Affair without them; and not without some Intimation of their Master's being resolv'd to recall them, in case this was refus'd, or much longer delay'd. The Dutch excus'd the Retardments given to the Treaty so long, by the many Difficulties rais'd by the French Court, upon Occasion of the Passports, which were not yet dispatch'd to some of their new Allies; but however, promis'd to acquaint the States with these Instances, and endeavour to dispose them to fix some time, by which they wou'd order their Ambassadors to enter into Matter, unless the Ministers of the Allies were arriv'd at *Nimeguen*.

In these, and several other Points, interceding between the French and Dutch Ambassadors, we carried the Proposals and Answers from one to the other, at their Houses, by Word of Mouth; which continu'd till the Assembly was compleated, and a place of Conference, with much Difficulty, agreed at the Stadthouse of *Nimeguen*; where, after many Difficulties between the two Confederates, and many more between the Parties that compos'd each of them, two Chambers were at length agreed for the Parties, and one for the Mediators, by which our Pains was lessen'd, but without other Advantage. Nor was there any Point that gave us more Trouble, than the adjusting this among the Parties; for the French were from the very first most declaredly averse from treating either by Writings, or from agreeing to a Place of publick Conference; conceiving this would tend to keep the Body of the Confederacy united in the Treaty, as well as the War; whereas their Design was to break that Union here, which they cou'd not in the Field; and find some way or other of entring into separate

Measures for a Peace with some of the Parties engag'd. In the mean time the Allies found, or took, as many Occasions as they cou'd, of delaying the Dispatch of their Ministers to the Congress, while they had Hopes of hindering the *Dutch* from proceeding without them; and that they believ'd might be done till this Campaign shou'd end; from the Events whereof the several Princes might the better take their Measures for the Conditions of a Peace that shou'd be propos'd or insist'd on in this Treaty. And this Disposition of theirs was so well pursu'd, that no other Ambassadors arriv'd at *Nimeguen* till *November*; tho' we, and the *French*, and the *Dutch*, had been so long upon the Place, and the *Swedes* soon after us.

In the mean time, the Successes of the Campaign, that were expected absolutely to govern the Motions of the Treaty, were various as to the Gross of the War; but run as high to the Advantage of the *French*, as to the Disadvantage of the *Swedish* Affairs. By Force of great Treasures, and the great Order in disposing them, the *French* Magazines were always fill'd in the Winter, so as to enable them to take the Field as they pleas'd in the Spring, without tearing the Weather for their Foot, or expecting Grass for their Horse. On t'other Side, the *Spaniards* want of Money and Order, left their Troops in *Flanders*, neither capable to act by themselves upon any sudden Attempt, nor to supply with Provisions in their March either *Dutch* or *Germans* that shou'd come to their Relief. Their Towns were ill fortify'd, and worse defended; so that the King of *France* marching in the Head of a brave and numerous Army, took *Conde* in four Days in the Month of *April* this year 1676, before any of the Confederates were in the Field; and in *May* sent the *Duke of Orleans* to besiege *Bouchain* with some part of his Troops, being a small, tho' strong Place, and very considerable for its Situation to the Defence of the *Spanish* Netherland. The King, with the Strength of his Army, posted himself so advantageously, as to hinder the Prince of *Orange* from being able to relieve it, or to fight without Disadvantage.

The Prince struggled through all the Difficulties from the Season, or want of Provisions and Magazines in *Flanders*, and marched with his Army in sight of the *French* King by the middle of *May*. The Armies continu'd some Days facing one another, and several times drawing out in Order to a Battle, which neither of them thought fit to begin; whether not willing to hazard, without Necessity or Advantage, so decisive an Action as this was like to prove; or whether the *French* contented themselves to carry their Point, by hindring the Relief of *Bouchain*, which must fall without it; while the Prince of *Orange* was withheld by the *Spaniards* from pursuing his, which was to give a Battle that the *Spaniards* knew cou'd not be lost without the loss of *Flanders*. The Armies continu'd facing one another, till *Bouchain* was surrendered the eighth Day of the Siege. The Prince return'd to refresh his Army, harass'd with so hasty a March upon so sudden Preparations; and the King of *France* return'd home, leaving his Army under the Marshal *Le Schomberg*, to attend the Motions of the Enemies. The Prince fell in to Concert with the *Spaniards* and *German* Princes near the lower *Rhine* for the Siege of *Maastricht*; which, tho' the strongest of the *Dutch* Frontiers, when it was taken, had been yet fortify'd by the *French* since they possess'd it with all the Advantages of Art and Expence, and with a

a Garrison of eight thousand chosen Men, under *Catoy*, a resolute *Catalonian*, who commanded there under the Marshal *D' Estrades* Governor of the place, but then at *Nimègue*.

About the end of *July*, the Trenches were open'd by the Prince and the Siege carried on with such Bravery, so many and desperate Assaults for about three Weeks; that as Wagers were continually offer'd with Odds, at *Nimègue*, that it wou'd be taken within such or such a time, so we did not observe the Marshal *D' Estrades* was willing to take them, or seem'd at all confident it wou'd be so well defended. The Prince, or the *Rhingrave* (who was design'd for Governour of the Town, as his Father had been) was ever in the Head of the Attacks and made great Use, as well as Proof of the desperate Courage of the *English* Troops, upon all those Occasions: Many of the Outworks were taken, with great Slaughter on both Sides; but were supplied by new Retrenchments, and by all the Art and Industry of a resolute Captain, and brave Soldiers within. About the middle of *August*, the Prince, exposing himself upon all Occasions, receiv'd a Musket-shot in his Arm at which, perceiving those about him were daunted, he immediately pull'd off his Hat with the Arm that was hurt, and waved it about his Head, to shew the Wound was but in the Flesh, and the Bone safe; at which they all reviv'd, and the Prince went on without Interruption in all the Paces of the Siege. But a cruel Sickness falling into his Army, weaken'd it more than all the Assaults they had given the Town. The *Germans* came not up with the Supplies they had promis'd, and upon which Assurance the Siege was undertaken; and the *Rhingrave*, who next the Prince, was the Spring of this Action, happening to be wounded soon after, was forc'd to leave the Camp for a Castle in the Neighbourhood, where he died: By all which the Army grew dishearten'd, and the Siege faint. In the mean time, Monsieur *De Schomberg*, who trusted to a vigorous Defence at *Maestricht*, had besieg'd and taken *Arie*; and after the Prince's Army was weaken'd by the Accidents of the Siege, march'd with all the *French* Forces through the Heart of the *Spanish* Low-Countries, to the Relief of *Maestricht*; upon whose Approach, and the Resolutions of a Council of War in the Prince's Camp, the Siege was rais'd, and with it the Campaign ended in the *Dutch* or *Spanish* Provinces. And from this time the Prince of *Orange* began to despair of any Successes in the War, after such Trials and Experience of such Weakness in the *Spanish* Forces and Conduct, and Uncertainty in the *German* Counsels or Resolutions.

However, the Imperial Army took *Philipsburg* in the end of *September* this Year 1676, which was yielded for want of Provisions, and as much against common Opinion and Expectation, as the contrary Event in the Siege *Maestricht*.

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After it was settled, the Parties engag'd in the War began to turn their Thoughts, not at first to their Arms, more towards the Motion of the Treaty than they had hitherto done. The Prince of Orange writ to me, to be at his place for a Day or two at *Stuyvesant* near *Amerfoort*, about a Days Journey from *Nimwegen*. He complain'd much, and with too much Reason, of the Conduct of his Allies; the Weakness, or rather Unanimity of the *Swiss* Troops in *Flanders*, for want of Pay, or Order; the *Imperial* Army's acting without Design upon the *Rhine*, or with Dependence upon Orders from *Vienna*, where the Emulation of the Ministers made such Distraction, and Counter-paces of their Generals, that the Campaign had pass'd with small Effect, after the Promises of vigorously invading either *Lorraine* or *France*; How the Dukes of *Lorraine* had fail'd of leading their Troops to *Maastricht*; which with the Sickens of the Camp, had render'd that Siege ineffectual; So that he began to despair of any good Issue of the War; and wou'd be glad to hear I hop'd for a better of the Peace, upon our Scene at *Nimwegen*, after the Paces and Progress whereof he made particular Enquiries. I told him how little Advances had been hitherto made, by the Slowness of his Allies dispatching their Ministers thither; how little Success cou'd be expected from the Pretensions of the Parties when they shou'd meet; especially *France* pretending to keep all they had got by the War, and *Spain* to recover all they had lost; how His Majesty seem'd of the Mind to concern himself no further than the Paces of a Mediator, our Orders being only to convey the Mind, or Proposals of the Parties from one to another, and, even to avoid the Offers of any References upon them to His Majesty's Determination; so that my Opinion was, That it must be the War alone that must make the Peace, and that I suppos'd it wou'd do at one time or other, by the Weakness, or Weariness of one of the Parties.

The Prince seem'd of my Mind, and said, The Events of the War wou'd depend upon the Conduct at *Madrid* and *Vienna* before next Campaign; for without some great Successes, he did not believe the States wou'd be induc'd to continue it longer. I told the Prince the Discourses Monsieur *Colbert* had entertain'd me with upon my Arrival at *Nimwegen*, in which his Highness was chiefly concern'd. Upon which he reply'd coldly, he had heard enough of the same Kind another way, which Monsieur *Strades* had found out to Pensioner *Fagel*; but that they knew him little that made him such Overtures; and for his own Interests or Advantages, let them find a way of saving his Honour, by satisfying *Spain*, and nothing of his Concerns shou'd retard the Peace at *Nimwegen*.

After my Return to *Nimwegen*, I found the *French* making all the Advances they cou'd towards the Progress of the Treaty; and they were (as I said) in earnest; for being in a Posture to insist upon their present Possessions, and having made a great Hand of this last Campaign, they were willing, like Gamesters that have won much, to give over, unless oblig'd to play on by those that had lost. The *Swedes* were more in Haste, and in Earnest for the Peace than any, hoping no Return for their Losses in *Germany* by the War. The *Dutch* were grown impatient for the Peace, finding *France* wou'd make no Difficulty of settling between them, offering privately by their Embassies, especially to *France*, such a Regiment of Commerce as they cou'd desire.

the Restoration of *Mauritius*, and of all Satisfaction the Prince of Orange could pretend upon his Losses, or their Services, in the War, but *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* were as violent against the Peace, having swallow'd up in their Hopes all that *Sweden* had propos'd in *Germany*. And tho the Emperor seem'd to pretend little after the taking of *Philipsburg*, besides the Restoration of *Lorraine*, and the Town of *Strasbourg* to the Posture they were left in by the *Munster Treaty*; yet they were so fast link'd, both with their *German Allies* and with *Spain*, that they resolv'd to make no Paces in the Treaty but by common Consent. And *Spain*, tho sensible of the Condition their Affairs in *Flanders* were in, as well as in *Savoy*; yet upon a Design then hatching at *Madrid*, for Removal of the Queen Regent and her Ministry, to introduce *Don John* to head the Affairs of their Government, had conceiv'd great Hopes to recover those deliberate Infirmities, that their inveterate Disorders both in Councils and Conduct, especially in their Finances, had for so long time occasion'd. Besides, they had Confidences still given them from their Ministers in *England*, that His Majesty wou'd not, after all, be contented to see *Flanders* lost, or wou'd be forc'd into the War by the Humour of his Parliament. For these Reasons the Allies seem'd to make no haste at all to the Congress, and some of them hardly to look that way; and none of the Parties were yet arriv'd, besides the *French*, the *Swedes*, and the *Dutch*: But about the end of *September*, the *French* Ambassadors gave us Notice, That their Master having made so many Advances towards Peace, and being so ill seconded by the Proceedings of the Confederates, and their Slowness in coming to the Treaty, was resolv'd to recall his Ambassadors, unless those of the chief Confederates shou'd repair to *Nimwegen* within the space of One Month.

This we communicated to the *Dutch* Ambassadors, and they to the States; who, after some Conferences with the Ministers of their Allies, came to a Resolution, That they wou'd enter upon the Treaty themselves, if the Ministers of their Confederates shou'd not repair to *Nimwegen* by the First of *November*; which was afterwards, upon some Difficulties, declar'd to be meant Old stile, being that of the Place where the Congress was held.

The Noise of this Resolution of the States was more, among their Allies, than the Danger; since there were ways enough to stile Difficulties, and hold our time, after the Ambassadors shou'd arrive, as well as before; but yet it had so much Effect, that the several Confederates did upon it begin to hasten away one or other of their intended Ambassadors towards *Nimwegen*; (as Count *Ximenes* from *Vienna*, *Don Pedro Paez* from *England*, where he then reided as *Spanish Envoy*) but not the Persons principally intrusted, or at the Head of their Ambassies; nor with Powers to proceed further than Preliminaries; and *Don Thomas*, *Monsieur Haug*, without any News of Count *Antoine's* Declaration, who was appointed Chief of that Ambassy; any more than of the Bishop of *Gene*, or *Merquies De Balbaer*, the chiefs of those design'd from the Emperor and Spain.

In the mean time the *Dutch* began to lay Load upon their Allies, for their Backwardness, to declar'd, in making any Paces towards the Treaty; to swell upon the Obligations they were under of it, and great, and to so many Princes their Allies, for carrying on a War which they only pursu'd for their own separate Interest, and

they enter'd into perhaps at first for Defence of *Holland*, with whose Safety theirs were complicated. Hereupon their Ministers, both at the *Hayes* and *Nimwegen*, took the Liberty to say publicly, and upon several Occasions, and in several Companies, That their Masters would pay no Subsidies to their Allies the next Campaign, unless, in the mean time, they would, by their fair and sincere Proceedings in the Treaty, put the *French* in the wrong, as their Expression was.

The *Swedes* had, as well as the *French*, offer'd to deliver us their Powers; but this was defer'd by the *Dutch*, to the Arrival of their Allies, till after the First of *November* was elaps'd. The *French* began to press them upon it, in Consequence of the States Resolution; and after some little Demurrs, the *Dutch* Ambassadors agreed to deliver theirs. So by Concert, not without Difficulty, we agreed, That on the 21st of *November*, the several Powers should be brought to us the Mediators, by the several Ambassadors, at such Hours as they should severally take from us should be deposited in our Hands; and that we should afterwards communicate the Originals mutually to the several Ambassadors at their Houses, and leave Copies with them, attested by us the Mediators.

This was done accordingly; and the Morning after, the *Dutch* Ambassadors brought us an Account of several Exceptions they were forc'd to make against several Expressions in the *French* and *Swedish* Prefaces to their Powers, which they said were fitter for Manifestoes than for Powers of a Treaty, especially those of justifying the War, and maintaining the Treaty of *Westphalia*. But the greatest Stress they laid, was upon a Clause in the *French* Powers, mentioning the Pope's Mediation; which they said their Masters could never consent to now, no more than they had at *Münster*. To say Truth, tho' the gaining of Time for the Allies were fram'd with great Art; and shew'd the great Quickness and Sharpness of Monsieur *Van Breuningh's* Apprehension, as well as his Skill and Experience in these kind of Affairs; being, I think, without Dispute, the most practis'd and the ablest Ambassador, of any I have ever met in the Course of my Employments.

The *Dutch* Exceptions were return'd, by others from the *French* and *Swedes*, against their Powers; but with Offer from both of entering into the Treaty, while these Matters should be adjusting. The *Dutch* accepted it, provided the *French* would oblige themselves to procure new Powers, free from the Exceptions rais'd against them, as the *Dutch* offer'd to do. After much Debate, they all agreed in desiring us the Mediators to draw up a Form of Powers to be us'd by all the Parties: We did it, and it was approv'd by them all, with some Reserve only from the *French*, whether it would be fit to mention any Mediation, since that of the Pope's was left out; and some little Tentatives upon us, whether we would be content to leave out all Mention of His Majesty's Mediation, as well as that of the Pope's. This we excus'd our selves from doing, the whole Frame of the Congress having proceeded from His Majesty's Mediation, without any Intervention of the Pope's; and the King's having been accepted by all the Parties, which the Pope's had not been; but on the contrary, the very Mention of it in the Powers rais'd a great deal against several of them. And by Order we receiv'd from Court, upon occasion of this Dispute, we declar'd to all the Parties.

ti's. That tho' His Majesty pretended not to exclude any other Mediation that the Parties shou'd think fit to use, yet he cou'd not in any wise be in consistency with that of the Pope; nor suffer his Ministers to enter into any Commerce either of Visits or Conferences, with any of his that might be employ'd at *Worms*.

In November arriv'd Monsieur *Hug*, one of the *Dutch* Ambassadors; Monsieur *Swining*, and *Stall*, the two *Brandenburg* Ambassadors; Lord *Bellies* from *Paris*; and soon after, *Des Fours* *Kemp*, one of the *Spanish* Ambassadors; but the last continu'd *Worms*, till the Arrival of Count *Kollit*, who whether he had taken the Gout, or the Gout had taken him, continu'd upon that Pretence at *Cologne*, till the New Year was begun.

The *Spanish* Ambassador coming upon Visits to my Wife, and meeting me there, found that way of entering into the present Business of the Scene, as much as if he had been declar'd upon it. He agreed with the *French* in this one Point, of desiring either the Pope's Mediation might be mention'd in their Powers; or that His Majesty, in Consideration of the Peace, wou'd suffer the Mention of his to be left out: But the *Dutch* on t'other Side, agreed with the *Dutch*, in refusing to admit any Power with Mention of the Pope's Mediation. There arose likewise another Difficulty, from a seeming Expedient propos'd by the *Dutch*, of having from each Party several Powers granted for treating with the several Parties they were in War with; which the *French* refus'd, or to grant other Powers than for the *Dutch* and their Allies: And in these Disputes or Difficulties the Year 1676 ended.

I enter not at all into the Detail, or so much as Mention, of the many Incidents that fell into the course of this Treaty upon Facilities of Visits or Ceremonials; because they seem to me but so many Imperfections that are grown this last Age into the Character of Ambassadors; having been rais'd and cultivated by Men, who wanting other Talents to value themselves upon in those employments, endeavour'd to do it by Extraneous, or Niceties in the Forms; and besides, they have been taken notice of by Discourses concerning this Treaty, and at one time or other may be exactly known by the Original Papers of our Embassy, which are in two or three several Hands: Whereas I intend chiefly to declare the course of this great Affair, by the more material Circumstances, and from the true Springs of those Events that succeeded, rather than trouble my self with the Forms that serv'd to amuse so long this Assembly at *Worms*.

I shall only make two Observations upon the Ceremonial; the first is upon the Emperor's Conduct towards the *Brandenburg* Ambassadors, allowing his Ministers to treat them both like Ambassadors or Crown'd Heads, though we gave it only to the first of the Embassy upon the President of the *Imperial* Treaty, and were follow'd in it by the *French* and *Swiss* in the whole course of this Treaty at *Worms*. This part of the Emperor seem'd not so much grounded, as some thought, upon his compliance with so considerable an Ally, as upon a desire to assert another Pre-eminence of his own; which is, not only a difference of Place, but also of Rank from all other Crown'd Heads of Christendom, whereas the other Kings, though they yield him the Place, yet they do not yield him the difference of Rank, but if our Emperor had not by his *Imperial* Councils with us, been oblig'd to treat the *Brandenburg* Ambassadors as Crown'd Heads, I should not have been surpris'd if the Emperor had a difference of Rank, not only

there is a great one, and out of all Contest between him and the E.
 Ambassadors.

My second Remark is, That among all the Punctillios between the Ambassadors at Nimegue, none seem'd to me to carry them to such heights as the Swedes and the Danes. The first standing as stiff upon all Points of not seeming to yield in the least to the French Ambassadors, tho' their Allies, and from a Crown not only of so mighty Power, but from whom alone they expected the restoring of their broken State in Germany; And the Danish Ambassador, upon the French Powers being exhibited in French, said he would give his in Danish, unless they would do it in Latin, as a common Language; alleging, he knew no difference between Crown'd Heads; that the Danish Kings had been at great as the French are now, and in their present Dominions are as Absolute. Upon all which Monsieur *Kon Rensing* could not forbear to reflect, and say to us, That in his Remembrance, there was no sort of Competition made by those two Northern Kings, with the other three great Kings or Christendom; That the Treatment of the States to them was very different, and their Ministers made no difficulty of signing any Instruments after the Ministers of the three Great Crowns. 'Tis, I think, out of question, that the Pretension of Parity among the Crown'd Heads, was first made in the North by *Gustavus*, when he told Monsieur *Grammont*, the French Ambassador in Sweden, upon this occasion, That for his part, he knew no Distinction among Crown'd Heads, but what was made by their Virtue; And this Pretence was not much disputed with him, in respect to the greatness of his Qualities, as well as of his Attempts and Successes; and his Example was follow'd by the Kings of Denmark, and has since left Place a thing contested among them all. 'Tis true, the French have claim'd the Precedence next to the Emperor, with more Noise and Haughtiness than the rest, but have been yielded to by none except the Spaniards, upon the Fear of a War they were not able to deal with; nor have they since been willing to own the weakness of that Concession, but have chosen to fall into what measures they could of encouraging and establishing the Pretence of Parity among Crown'd Heads. The most remarkable Instance of this happen'd at Nimegue, where, upon a Publick Meeting of the Allies, the Dispute arising between Spain and Denmark, for the place at Table, *Don Pedro* consented to have it taken by turns, and the first to be divided by Lot. The French Ambassadors made their pretence of Preference next the Mediators at Nimegue, in the first return of their Visits from Ambassadors arriving; but 'twas neither yielded to by Swede or Dane, nor Practis'd by the Emperor's Ambassadors, who made their first Visits to the Mediators, and the next, without Distinction, to the first that had visited them. The Emperor took advantage of the French, as well as the rest, having yielded to the Mediators; and during this Treaty, made a scruple, tho' not a refusal, of doing it; by which he distinguish'd himself from the other Crown'd Heads. We were content to keep it, as much as we could, from decision with them; but it once happen'd, that upon a Meeting with the Allies at the Duke's House, Count *Kinski* was set there before, and Sir *Ligon* came into the Room, where Chairs was set for all the Ambassadors. After the common Salutations, I went first up to the Chair that was first in Rank, and stood before it, to sit down when the rest were ready; but my Colleague, either losing his time by being engag'd in longer Civilities, or by a desire not to be engag'd in

Constitution gave room to Count Kinsky (a very brisk Man) to come and stand before the Chair that was next me, and conversely between me and my Colleagues: When I saw this, and considered, that the Peace was given me by the Impeccable, yet it was not given to the King's Ambassy: I chose not to sit down: but telling him the Peace was that was intended, I stood all the while as if I did it carefully, and left the Matter undecided.

The Prince of Orange about the latter end of December, wrote very earnestly to me, to make a Stay for some few Days to the Peace, knowing that I had leave from His Majesty to do it when I thought fit, and adding all things without present Motion at Newmarket. I went further, and arriv'd the last Day of the Year. The first of the next being 1672. I attended his Highness: We fell into large Discourses of the Progress of the Treaty, the Coldness of the Parties, the studied Delay of the Imperialists and Spaniards, the declar'd Aversion of the Pope and French King; and concluded how little was to be expected from the former Paper of this Congress. Upon all which the Prince ask'd, if I had heard any more of His Majesty's Mind upon the Peace, since I had been last with him? I told him what I remember'd of his last Letter to me upon that Subject; which was, That he concluded from the Prince's Discourses to me, that he had then no Mind to Peace; that he was sorry for it, because he thought it was his Interest to have it: That he had try'd to know the Mind of France upon it; but if they would not open themselves farther on one side, nor his Highness on the other, than they had yet done, he would content himself with performing only his Part of Mediator, and in the Common Form. The Prince said, This look'd very cold, since His Majesty was alone able to make the Peace, and knew well enough what it would come to by the Form of the Congress. That for his own part, he desir'd it, and had a great deal of reason; both because His Majesty seem'd to do so, and to think it his own Interest as well as the Prince's; and because the States not only thought it their Interest, but absolutely necessary for them. That he wou'd not say this to any but to the King or me, because if France should know it, they would, he doubted, be harder upon the Terms: That both Spain and the Emperor had less Mind to it now, than they had at the end of the last Campaign: the new Ministers being less inclin'd to it than the old had been; so that there was not one of the Allies that had any Mind to it, besides the States. That for his own part, he should be always in the same Mind with them, and desir'd very much their Advice; but did not know which way to go about it, at least so as to compass it before the next Campaign. And if that once began, they shou'd be all at Sea again, and shou'd be forc'd to go out as the Wind should drive them? I hat if His Majesty had a Mind to make it, and wou'd let him know freely the Conditions upon which either he desir'd it, or he thought it might be made, he wou'd endeavour to concert it with him, as he wou'd with His Majesty, and that with all the Freedom and Sincerity in the World: so it might be done with any Safety to his own Honour, and the Interest of his Country.

All this he desir'd me to write directly to His Majesty from him, as he knew I had not only leave, but Command to do upon any Occasion that I thought desir'd it.

Two Days after, I saw the Ambassador Lord upon a fine comely French Bridgman, my Ambassy at the Hague, which had been left in the hands

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of the Secretary of State. When these Discourses were said, he
ask'd me, if I had brought them Peace from Amsterdam? I reply'd, That
I had not, but I was certain of what had pass'd there, I would tell him, That
[I had said several other Matters there, *Es habiles gen* [*Lis* *de* *de* *de* :]
That as being their Allies to the Congress, they had pretended to treat
by the Power of Ambassadors, whether they came or not: That after that Day
pass'd, they had found Fault with the Powers exhibited, had offer'd at
new, while the Mediators came from one to other; spun out two Months
and farther Pace, and thereby were gotten in sight both of *Spanish* and
Imperial Ministers, which I suppos'd was the Point they always intended,
and afterwards to keep Pace with them. The Pensioner answer'd me,
with something in his Face both serious and sad, That either I did not
know them and the course of their Affairs since I left the *Wagur*, or else
I would not seem to know them: That they not only desir'd the Peace
from their Hearts, but thought it absolutely necessary for them: That
they would certainly have enter'd into the Treaty at the time, if the
Princes had either exhibited Powers in a Form to be at all admitted, or
would have oblig'd themselves to procure new ones; nay, That they
could be assur'd that they would not make a separate one. I said, That
was a Matter of such Moment, as I was sure they would think of it another
Year before they did it. With this he drew up his Chair closer to me,
and began a Discourse with more Heat and Earnestness than agreed well
with the Posture of Health he was in; saying, first, That they had thought
enough of it already; and with thinking much, had begun to find it was
without Remedy: That they had great Obligations to *Spain*, for entering
into the War, to save their Country, and thereby to save *Flanders* too;
but they had made them so ill Return, by continuing it now three Years
only for the Interests of *Spain*, since there remain'd nothing of Conse-
quence between *France* and them: That they had further engag'd them-
selves to carry it on this following Year, and so would have done with
the Forces they did the last, if their Allies had perform'd the Parts they
had likewise engag'd; but for *Spain*, they took no Care, but to let them
see they were resolv'd to perish: That they had sent their Fleet home
by the State of their Affairs; and left them to be paid
from *Spain*, without the Payments agreed on; and left them to be paid
Sum they took them for Carriages and Provisions the last Summer, and
which was assign'd for Magazines against next Year in *Flanders*, without
sure to find some of the *Spaniards* providing: That they had represented
to *Spain* the Necessity but of keeping so many Forces well regulated and
well, it might defend their Towns, while the Prince should take the
Field, the Army of the State, and hinder or divert any great Sieges
there, but not a Word of Answer: That they had then desir'd them to
receive so many of the Troops of the *German* Princes, their Allies, as
might defend their most important Places; but instead of this, they drove
them out of their Country: That for the Emperor, they had always told
him, That unless his Army would march into *France*, or at least force
them to a Battle by such Forces as might draw great Detachments of the
Emperor of *Russia*, that Country would not be sav'd the last Summer;
and yet the next, unless his Army took up their Quarters this
Winter in *Spain*, or on that Side of the *Rhine*; But at *Amsterdam*, they con- sider'd

that to preserve their State than to destroy it : That it was not to be chosen, but to be swallow'd like a desperate Remedy : That he had hop'd for some Resource from better Conduct in the *Spanish* Affairs ; or that some great Impression of the *German* Armies upon that Side of *France*, might have brought the Peace to some reasonable Terms : That for his own part he had ever believ'd, that *England* it self wou'd cry Halt at one Step or other that *France* was making ; and that if we wou'd be content to see half *Flanders* lost, yet we wou'd not All ; nor *Italy* neither, for the Interest of our Trade in the *Mediterranean* : That the King had the Peace in his Hands for these two Years past, might have made it when he pleas'd, and upon such Conditions as he shou'd think fit, of Justice and Safety to the rest of his Neighbours as well as himself : That all Men knew, *France* was not in a Condition to refuse whatever Terms His Majesty resolv'd on, or to venture a War with *England* in Conjunction with the rest of the Allies : That the least Shew of it, if at all credited in *France*, was enough to make the Peace : That they had long represented all this in *England*, by Monsieur *Van Bruninzen*, and offer'd His Majesty to be the Arbitrator of it, and to fall into the Terms he shou'd prescribe ; but not a Word in Answer, and all receiv'd with such a Coldness as never was, tho' other People thought we had Reason to be a little more concern'd : That this put him more upon thinking a Separate Peace necessary, than all the rest : That he confess'd, *Cuncta prius tentanda*, (*All Means were first to be tried*,) till he found at last 'twas *immedicabile Vulus* (*an incurable Wound* :) That for their living with *France* after *Flanders* was lost, he knew well enough, what I meant by asking ; but after that, the Aims of *France* wou'd be more upon *Italy* or *Germany*, or perhaps upon us, than them : That it cou'd not be the Interest of *France*, to destroy or conquer this State, but to preserve it in a Dependance upon that Crown : That they cou'd make better Use of the *Dutch* Fleets, than of a few poor Fisher-Towns, that they shou'd be reduc'd to, if any Violation were made either upon their Liberties or Religion : That the King of *France* had seen their Country, and knew it, and understood it so, and said upon all Occasions, That he had rather have them for his Friends than his Subjects ; but if, after all, I concluded their State must fall in Four and Twenty Hours, yet it were better for them to defer it to the last Hour, and that it shou'd happen at Night rather than at Noon.

This was discours'd with such Vehemence and Warmth, that he was not able to go on ; and having said, It was not a Matter to be resolv'd between us Two, I left him, after wishing him Health enough to go through the Thoughts and Business of so great a Conjunction.

Next Morning I went to the Prince, and after some common Talk, told him what had pass'd in my Visit to the Pensioner, and ask'd his Highness, if he had seen him since, or knew any thing of it ? He said No ; and so I told him the Detail of it ; and upon Conclusion, That he said he saw nothing else to be done but to make a Separate Peace ; and that he knew not a Man in *Holland* who was not of his Mind. The Prince interrupted me, saying, Yes, I am sure I know one, and that is my Self, and I will hinder it as long as I can ; but if any thing should happen to me, I know it wou'd be done it two Days time. I ask'd him, Whether he was of the Pensioner's Mind, as to what he thought likely to happen the next Campaign ? He said, The Apppearances were ill ; but Campaigns did not always end as they began : That Accidents might happen which no Man cou'd fore-

and that if they came to any other Point, I should answer for the Event: That the King might make the Peace, if he pleas'd, without delay; but if we were so indifferent, as to let this Session pass, for his Part he must go on, and take his Fortune: That he had seen that Morning a poor old Man, tugging alone in a little Boat with his Oars, caught in the Eddy of a Sluce upon a Canal: That when with the last Eddy he was just got up to the place intended, the Force of the current set him quite back again; but he turn'd his Boat as soon as he could, and fell to his Oars again; and thus three or four times while the Prince saw him; and concluded this old Man's Business and his were too like one another, and that he ought, however, to do just as the old Man did, without knowing what wou'd succeed, any more than what did in the poor Man's Case.

All that pass'd upon these Discourses, I represented very particularly to the Court, the first part immediately to the King, the rest to the Secretaries of State; and added, my own Opinion, That if His Majesty continu'd to interpose no further than by the bare and common Offices of this Mediation in the Place and Forms of a Treaty, and the *Austrians* held off from the Progress of it, as well as the Northern Allies, and as they had all hitherto done, it wou'd certainly follow, that the *French* and *Dutch* wou'd fall into private Negotiations, and by what I cou'd observe on both Sides, were like to adjust them in a very little time, and leave them ready to clap up a Peace in two Days, when the *Dutch* shou'd grow more impatient of the Slowness or Unfincereness of their Allies Proceedings in the General Treaty, or whenever the violent Humour of the People shou'd force the Prince to fall into the same Opinion with the States upon this Matter. This I esteem'd my self oblig'd to say, that His Majesty might want no Lights that were necessary upon so nice, and yet so dangerous a Conjunction. I had His Majesty's Answer in a long Letter of his own Hand, complaining much of the Confederate *Whigs* in *England* caballing with Parliament Men, and raising all sorts of Spirits as high against the Peace as they cou'd; and that they had done it to such a Degree, as made it very difficult for him to make any Steps with *France* towards a General Peace, unless the *Dutch* Ambassador wou'd first put in a Memorial, pressing His Majesty from the States to do it, and declaring, That without it they saw *Flanders* wou'd be lost.

From Secretary *Williamson* I had no other Answer material upon all the Pensioner's Discourses, nor my own Opinion upon the present Conjunction, but that His Majesty, and the Lords of the Foreign Committee, wonder'd I shou'd think the *French* were so ready for a Separate Peace, if the *Dutch* shou'd fall into those Thoughts; and that they did not remember they had ever receiv'd any thing from either Me or my Colleague at *Nimeguen*, that look'd that way. Upon which I told him the frequent Conversations I had had with Monsieur *Colber* upon that Subject, and the several Letters the Pensioner had shewn me from the Marquis *D'Alvares*, or his Instrument at *Stavrich*. But to all this I receiv'd no Answer, nor so much Reflection; tho' I thought this part was my Duty as Ambassador at the *League*, whether it were so as Mediator at *Nimeguen* or not.

The Prince and Pensioner were both willing the King shou'd be supply'd with in the Government of Monsieur *de Foville* his Pieces and Language at *London*; but pass'd me to write what more I thought His Majesty's

Majesty's Opinion upon the Terms of a Peace, or else he said it wou'd be too late, while the Season advanc'd towards the Campaign. Upon which I advis'd him to consider there might be three Weeks difference between his own Thoughts to His Majesty, and receiving His Majesty's Opinion upon them; or sending first to know His Majesty's, then settling his own, and afterwards expecting the King's again, in case of a Peace or more Confidence, if his Highness made no Difficulty of explaining himself first. The Prince paus'd a while, and then said, To shew the Confidence he desir'd to live in with His Majesty; he wou'd make no further Difficulty of it, though he might have many Reasons to do it: That if the King had a Mind to make a sudden Peace, he thought he must do it upon the Foot of *Aix la Chapelle*; which he would have the more Ground for, because it was a Peace he both made and warranted: That for Exchanges, he thought there shou'd be no other propos'd upon it, but only of *Acre* and *Charleroy* for *Aire* and *St. Omer*; which two last he thought imported a great deal more to *France* than the others, unless they wou'd declare that they intended to end this War with the Prospect of beginning another, by which they might get the rest of *Flanders*: That this was all needed pass between *France* and *Spain*; and for the Emperor and this State, that the first having taken *Ypresburg* from the French, shou'd raze it; and the French having taken *Malmedy* from the Dutch, shou'd raze it too; and so this whole War shou'd pass, *Comme un tourbillon qui avoit cesse, apres avoir menace beaucoup, mais sans faire grand mal au monde*, [as a Storm that has ceas'd, after it had threaten'd much, and made but little Alterations in the World.]

I was surpris'd to hear a Proposition so on the sudden, so short, and so decisive, and that seem'd so easie towards a short Close, if His Majesty shou'd fall into it; and I esteem'd it a Strain in the Prince of the most consummate Knowledge in the whole present Scheme of Affairs, and most decisive Judgment upon them that he cou'd have given after the longest Deliberation and maturest Advice. I observ'd, however, to his Highness upon it, That he had not explain'd what was to become of *Lorraine* and *Burgundy*; and next, Whether he believ'd it at all likely, that *France*, after such Acquisitions made in this War, and so many more expected, shou'd come to such Restitutions of what they possess'd, without any Equivalent. The Prince reply'd, Both were explain'd by the Terms he propos'd of *Aix la Chapelle*; That for *Lorraine*, *France* never pretended to keep it, but from the last Duke only: That *Burgundy* could not be parted with by *Spain*, without the French restoring so many Towns for it in *Flanders*, as wou'd raise endless Debates, draw the Business into Lengths, and so leave it to the Decision of another Campaign. For the Second, he said, He had reason to doubt it, and did not believe it wou'd be done but by His Majesty's vigorous Interposition, but by that he was sure it wou'd be easily effected; but if His Majesty wou'd not endeavour it, the War must go on, and God Almighty must decide it: That all the Allies wou'd be glad of it, and believ'd, that upon *Don John's* coming to the Head of the Spanish Affairs, there wou'd be a new World there: That however, one Town well defended, or one Battle well fought, might change the Scene: That for himself, he wou'd confess, the King cou'd never do so much a Part, as to bring him with some Honour out of this War, and upon some moderate Terms; but if he was content that *France* shou'd make them

them insupportable, they would rather all rather than receive them; and for *Holland's* making it a Separate Peace, let the Pensioner, or any others, tell me what they would, they should never do it while he was alive and was able to hinder it. And he would say one Thing more to me, that he believ'd he was able to hinder it; That if he died, he knew it would be done next Day; but when that should happen, this Matter must be some other's Care, and perhaps we in *England* were the most concern'd to look after it.

I promis'd to represent all he had said directly to His Majesty, and so I did immediately; and the Prince went next Day to *Dierpen*, within Six Leagues of *Nimeguen*, where I promis'd to come to him as soon as I should be possess'd of His Majesty's Answer. And I am the more particular in all these Discourses with the Prince and the Pensioner upon this great Conjunction, because they do not only discover the true Springs from which the Peace was afterwards deriv'd, but represent most of the Interests of *Christendom*, as they were observ'd by the two Persons, that, next to Monsieur *Dr Wis*, understood them the best of any I have ever met within the Course of my Negotiations.

After the Prince was gone, I had one Conference more with the Pensioner, who told me he was still of Opinion it must come to a Separate Peace: That he had told the Emperor's Ministers the same thing; and that if they did not at *Vierna* fall into the Measures propos'd and insist'd on by the States before the middle of *February* next, they should be forc'd to make it; That if *Don Emmanuel De Lyra*, had not now assur'd them of the Remises being actually come from *Spain*, for Payment of the last Year's Charge of the Fleets, both in the *Mediterranean* and *Baltick*, according to Agreement, the Peace cou'd not have been kept off this Winter it self. I told him the Prince was of another Mind, and had said to me, a Separate Peace should never be made while he liv'd, and was able to hinder it; and that he believ'd he should have it in his Power. The Pensioner reply'd, He should come to it with as much Regret as the Prince himself; but that his Highness himself might be forc'd to it by the ill Conduct of his Allies, the ill Successes of the next Campaign, and the Mutinies of the People, to which they were already but too much dispos'd at *Amsterdam*, by the Delays of the Treaty at *Nimeguen*: That the late Revolution in *Spain* against the Queen Regent and her Ministry, had shew'd enough what might be brought about by a violent and general Humour of the People; and the Prince knew the Country too well to go too far against it: That it was in His Majesty's Hands to make a General Peace, if he pleas'd, before the Campaign began; and perhaps it was in the Conduct of *Spain* and the Emperor, to engage *Holland* in one Campaign more, by the Measures they had propos'd: If both these fail'd, a Separate Peace must be made.

While I staid at the *Hague*, which was about a Month, my Colleagues at *Nimeguen* had, it seems, found out a Negotiation grown between the *French* Ambassadors and Monsieur *Van Breuning*, separate from the Ministers of his Majesty, and without any Communication of the Mediators, which they suspected would end in a Separate Peace. Of this they thought fit to give p^rnto the Court, and of their Suspicions upon it; as they had done in my Absence; and receiv'd an immediate Order upon it. That in case they found a Separate Peace concluding, or concluded between *France* and *Holland* at *Nimeguen*, they should protest publicly against it in His Majesty's

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His Majesty's Name. This my Colleague, *Mr. Daniel Jenkins*, writ to me at the *Hague*, about the 10th of *January*, and was in great Pain upon it. He apprehended the thing, but expected not to know it till 'twas done, and then doubted any good Consequences from our Protestation. He desir'd I would both send him my Thoughts upon it, and the same to the Court, as soon as I cou'd.

I did so, both to my Lord Treasurer and Mr. Secretary *Conventry*; and told them very freely, That I cou'd not understand the Reason or the Drift of such an Order as my Colleagues had receiv'd to make such a Protestation: That if a Separate Peace between *France* and *Holland* were thought as dangerous in the Court, as I knew it was in the Country, the King might endeavour to prevent it, and had it still in his Power, as he had had a great while: But if it were once concluded, I did not see any other Effect of our Protestation, unless it were to irritate both the Parties, and bind them the faster, by our being angry at their Conjunction. Nor did I know what Ground cou'd be given for such a Protestation; for tho' the Parties had accepted His Majesty's Mediation of a General Peace, yet none of them had oblig'd themselves to His Majesty not to treat a Separate One, or without his Offices of Mediation; and if they had, I did not see why the same Interests that cou'd make them break through so many Obligations to their Allies, shou'd not make them as bold with a Mediator: That, as to prevent the thing may be a very wise and necessary Council, so His Majesty's Resolution in it ought to be signified as early as can be, where it is likely to be of Moment to that End, which was to *France*: But if the thing shou'd be first done, as I could not tell how well to ground our Offence, so I cou'd as little how to seek our Revenge; and it wou'd be to stay till we were struck, and then trust to crying out: That to the best of my Sense, it were better to anger any one of the Parties before a Separate Peace, than both of them after; and if we must strain any Points of Courtesy with them, to do it rather by making a Fair and General Peace, than by complaining or protesting against a Separate One.

I thought, I confess, that upon this Representation from my Colleagues, without any Knowledge of mine, or Suspicion that the Matter was working up at *Nimeguen*, when I left it, and yet agreeing so much with what I had foreseen and represented from the *Hague*, and meeting such a Relentment at our Court, as appear'd by the Order transmitted to my Colleagues upon it; there was little Question but His Majesty wou'd declare himself upon the Terms of a General Peace to both Parties, which I knew very well wou'd be refus'd by neither, if he were positive in it, and supported, as he wou'd certainly have been, by the Prince: But our Counsels at Court were so in ballance, between the Desires of living at least fair with *France*, and the Fears of too much displeasing the Parliament upon their frequent Sessions, that our Paces upon this whole Affair look'd all like cross Purposes, which no Man at Home or Abroad cou'd well understand, and were often mistaken by both Parties engag'd in the War, at well as by both Parties in the House of Commons, till the thing was wrested out of our Hands.

About the Twenty Fifth of *January* 1677, I receiv'd His Majesty's Answer to my last Dispatches by the Prince's Directions, and carried them immediately away to *Dieren*, which was little out of my way to *Nimeguen*, and there communicated them to the Prince. They consisted

of two Parts; the First, was His Majesty's coming into the strongest defensive Alliance with the States, to secure them from all Apprehensions from *France*, after the Peace should be made. The Second, was His Majesty's Remarks, rather than Conclusion or Judgment, upon the Terms propos'd by the Prince for a Peace: That he believ'd it might be compass'd with *France*, upon the Exchange of *Cambray*, *Aire*, and *St. Omer*, for *Loth*, *Charleroy*, *Onsley*, *Cologne*, and *Bouchain*; That the Scheme was what His Majesty thought possible to be obtain'd of *France*, though not what was to be wish'd.

I observ'd the Prince's Countenance to change, when I nam'd *Cambray* and the rest of the Towns; yet he heard me through, and the many nice Reasons of Sir *J. W.* upon the Matter; as of a double Frontier this wou'd give to *Flanders*, the Safety whereof was the thing both His Majesty and the States were most concerned in; and many other ways of cutting the Feather. After which the Prince said, He believ'd Dinner was ready, and we wou'd talk of it after we had Din'd; and so went out; but as he was near the Door, he turn'd to me, and said, Tho' we shou'd talk more of it after Dinner, yet he wou'd tell me now, and in few Words, That he must rather die than make such a Peace.

After Dinner, we went again into his Chamber, where he began with telling me I had spoil'd his Dinner: That he had not expected such a Return of the Confidence he had begun towards His Majesty. He observ'd the Offer of Alliance, came to me in a Letter of His Majesty's own Hand; but that about the Terms of a Peace, from the Secretary only; That it was in a Style, as if he thought him a Child, or to be fed with Whipt Cream: That since all this had been before the Foreign Committee, he knew very well it had been with the French Ambassador too, and that the Terms were his, and a great deal worse than they cou'd have directly from *France*. He cast them up distinctly, and what in plain Language they amounted to; That *Spain* must part with all *Burgundy*, *Cambray*, *Aire*, and *St. Omer*, which were of the Value of two other Provinces in the Consequences of any War between *France* and *Spain*; and all for the Five Towns mention'd: That, in short, all must be ventur'd, since he was in, and found no other way out. I told the Prince, that I hop'd he wou'd send His Majesty his own Thoughts upon it; but that he wou'd think a little more before he did it. He said, he wou'd write to the King that Night, but wou'd not enter into the Detail of the Business, which was not worth the Pains, but wou'd leave it to me. He desir'd me further, to let His Majesty know, that he had been very plain in what he had told me of his own Thoughts upon this whole Matter, and had gone as low as he cou'd with any Regard to the Safety of his Country, and his Allies, or his Honour; That he doubted whether *Spain* wou'd ever have consented to those very Terms; but for these he knew they cou'd not, tho they were sure to lose all *Flanders* by the War: And for himself, he cou'd never propose it to them; but if *Flanders* were left in that Posture, it cou'd never be defended upon another Invasion, neither by *Holland*, nor by *England* (itself); and he was so far of the Spaniards Mind, that if *Flanders* must be lost, it had better be so by a War, than by a Peace: That whenever that was, *Holland* must fall into an absolute Dependence upon *Spain*, so that what His Majesty offer'd an Alliance with them, wou'd be

in Flanders; for they wou'd not be made the Stage of a War after the
loss of Flanders, and wherein they were sure no Alliance of His Maje-
sty's, nor Forces neither, cou'd defend them. He concluded, That
if His Majesty wou'd help him out of this War with any Honour and
Safety, either upon Kindness to him, or Consideration of what Con-
sequence his own Crowns were like to have in the Issue of this Affair,
he wou'd acknowledge and endeavour to deserve it as long as he liv'd;
if not, the War must go on, be the Event what it wou'd; and for his
own Part, he wou'd rather charge a thousand Men with a hundred;
nay, tho' he were sure to die in the Charge, than enter into any Con-
cert of a Peace upon these Conditions.

I gave His Majesty an Account of all that pass'd in this Interview,
and return'd to my Post at *Nimeguen*.

The Allies had taken great Umbrage at my Journey to the *Hague*,
as design'd for negotiating some Separate Peace between *France* and
Holland; but the Prince and Pensioner seem'd careles to satisfie them,
and made that Use only of it, to let them know, that no such thing
was yet intended, but that *Holland* wou'd be forc'd to it at last, if the
Emperor and *Spain* fell not into those Measures, that they had propos'd
to them, both at *Vienna* and *Madrid*, for the vigorous Prosecution of
the next Campaign. Which had some Effect at *Vienna*, but little in
Spain or *Flanders*, as was felt in the beginning of the Spring.

At my return to *Nimeguen*, I found that in my Absence, Count
Kinsky was arriv'd, who was a Person of great Parts, of a sharp and
quick Apprehension, but exact and scrupulous in his Conduct, rigid in
his Opinions, never before vers'd in these sorts of Employments, and
thereby very punctillious. This had engag'd him in Difficulties upon
the Ceremony of Visit, both with my Colleagues and the *French*, up-
on his first Arrival; which lasted with these till the end of the Con-
gress, so as to hinder all Visits between them: But I had the good For-
tune to retrieve all ill Correspondence that had happen'd between the
Mediators and him. I found likewise, that a secret Intelligence was
grown between the *French* and *Dutch* Ambassadors, which was manag'd
by Monsieur *Olivier*, the Second *Swedish* Ambassador, and wholly a-
part from my Colleagues, whose Intervention had been only us'd when
the Matter was first agreed between those Parties; That Monsieur *San-
Barnard* drove on very violently towards a Peace, and with little re-
gard of his Allies; and said, he had Order from the States, *De pousser
l'Affaire tant qu'il lui seroit possible*, [*To push the Business on as vigorously
as possible*:] That those Ambassadors had come to a sort of Agreement
about the Form and Number of Powers, which was, That the Me-
diators should be desir'd to draw up a Form of Preamble, which shou'd
be common to all the Parties, and contain nothing more, but that such
and such Princes, out of a sincere Desire of Peace, had sent such and
such Persons to *Nimeguen*, which had been chose for the Place of Treas-
ty, by the Intercession of the King of *Great Britain*: That the Media-
tors shou'd likewise draw up an Obligatory Act, to be sign'd by the seve-
ral Ambassadors, and put into their Hands on the same Day, for the
procuring new Powers within Sixty Days after the Date: That the
Titles in the new Powers shou'd be inserted, *bona fide*, according to the
usual Style of the Chancellery of each Court; and that an Act of Salvo
shou'd be sign'd by the several Ambassadors, for no Consequence to

be drawn hereafter, for the Use, or Omission of any Titles in their Powers.

I found likewise, That these Points had been agreed among all the Allies, by the formal Intervention of my Colleagues, after they had first been concerted between the *French* and *Dutch*: That these Ambassadors had entred into a Course of mutual Visits; owning publicly, that they did it as necessary to facilitate the Progress of the Treaty: And that the *Dutch* began to talk of finishing an Erecual Treaty (as they call'd it) for themselves, as soon as the Affairs about Powers were wholly dispatch'd; which shou'd not take Place till the General Peace was concluded; but after which, They, the *Dutch*, intended to employ their Offices between their Allies and the *French*.

I found likewise, that Mr. *Hilde* had encreas'd the Number of the Mediators in my Absence, who having been sent into *Poland* the Summer past, to Christen that King's Child, and to condole with the Emperor upon the late Empress's Death, had perform'd the first Compliment from His Majesty; but upon his coming from thence to *Vienne*, found the Emperor Married, and so pass'd on privately Home, and arriv'd at *Nimeguen*, soon after I left it upon my Journey to the *Hague*; where he came to me, after having staid a Fortnight at *Nimeguen*. He told me at the *Hague*, That upon his Return by *Rotterdam*, he had there met Letters from Court, with a Commission to stop for some short time at *Nimeguen*, and take the Character of one of the Ambassador's Mediators there, by which he might be enabled at his Return to give His Majesty, an Account of the State and Progress of Affairs there. He said, this Commission was intended to find him at *Nimeguen*, upon the Stop he made there; but having not arriv'd till he had left that Place, he was in doubt whether he shou'd make any Use of it or not, and desir'd my Advice, whether to return to *Nimeguen*, or to go forward for *England*. Easily perceiv'd what this Dispatch was intended for, to introduce him into those kinds of Characters and Employments; and so advis'd him to go back to *Nimeguen*, which he did, and made a Part of the Ambassy during a short Stay there, but excus'd himself from entring into the Management of any Conferences or Dispatches; so that by his Modesty, and my Lord *Berkley's* great Age and Infirmities, the Fatigue of that Employment lay still upon me and Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, who writ alternately the Dispatches from the Ambassy to Court, and the others to other Princes and Ministers, by Concert, all the while I was upon the Place.

I found likewise at my Return to *Nimeguen*, some few Difficulties yet remaining, which obstructed the Dispatch intended about the Powers: For though the *French* had consented to furnish new Powers, and several for the Emperor, *Spain*, *Denmark*, and *Holland*; yet they refus'd a distinct one for *Brandenburg*, which these Ministers insisted on; and the *Dutch* were in such Obligations to that Prince, that they were forc'd to do so too, tho' unwillingly, as doubting the Success with *France*, and foreseeing the Consequence of the same Pretence to be rais'd upon it by other Princes of *Germany*, not only Electors, but the Houses of *Lunenburg* and *Neuburg*, who yielded to the Electors in no Point, but that one of Precedence. But the *Dutch*, to distinguish that of *Brandenburg*, alledg'd to us, that he was Principal in the War of *Sweden*, and so could not be included as an Ally only, either by the Emperor, or by the States.

The *Danish* Ambassador stood positively upon the common Use of the *Latin* Tongue between *France* and them in their Powers, or else to give his in *Danish*, if they gave theirs in *French*. These said, That it was a Novelty and an Impertinence; and that if in all the Intercourse that had ever been between those Two Crowns, the Language had not been *French* on their Side, and *Latin* on the *Danes*, even in any one Instrument, they were content they shou'd give their Powers not only in *Danish*, but in *Hebrew*, if they pleas'd. The *Dane* said, he cou'd not give Account of all Presidents; That if ill ones had been hitherto us'd, 'twas time to establish new ones that were good: That his Master had more Right to do it than any former King, being now Succesive in that Crown, which was before Elective; and being more absolute in his Dominions than any other King of *Christendom*; for there was now nothing in *Denmark*, but *La Volonté du Roy* [The will of the King;] upon all which he said his Orders were positive, and he cou'd not proceed without the Style he pretended.

These Two Points chiefly had obstructed the final Agreement about the Powers, for near a Month; after which we prevail'd with the *French* to yield to new Powers for *Brandenburg*, upon Assurance from the *Dutch* Ambassadors that they expected no such Pretension for any other of their *German* Allies; but that if any shou'd be rais'd and refus'd by *France*, yet That shou'd not hinder or delay the *Dutch* from proceeding in the Treaty. The *Dane's* Pretence about the Languages, being neither countenanc'd nor approv'd by any of his Allies, was at last yielded by him; which had been better never started, as having lost him Ground in that which was intended by it, which was to establish the Principle of a Parity among Crown'd Heads.

There was an Accident happen'd likewise in my Absence, which had rais'd great Heats among the Parties. Upon Count *Kinski's* Arrival, the Allies began their Meetings at his House; by which they hop'd to govern the General Resolutions, and keep the Alliance from breaking into any separate Pieces. The *Dutch* Ambassadors, who prece ded to influence the Peace more than any of their Allies, stomach'd the Count's Design and Carriage at these Conferences, where they said he pretend'd to be sole Dictator, and they were unwilling to enter into plain Contradictions, or the same Heats at his own House; upon which they went to the Stadthouse, and chose there a Room for their Conferences among all the Allies, which, upon the first Practice, gave great Offence to the *French* Ambassadors. They said it was a Breach upon the Neutrality of the Place, establish'd by the Assembly's being there; and that the *Dutch* had now arrogated to themselves the Disposal of the Town-House, without common Agreement. The *Dutch* alldg'd, the Rooms they had taken were not belonging to the Town, but to the Nobles of *Gelderland*, and were below Stairs; and that all above remain'd to be dispos'd of still by the Mediators for the common Use of the Parties when they should desire it. The *French* were not satisfy'd with these Reasons and threatned to break the Assembly. We at last prevail'd with the Allies to forbear the Use of the Stadthouse, till we drew up a formal Proposal to be made by us the Mediators, to all Parties, desiring them, That for their Ease and Convenience, all Parties wou'd meet in one Room at the Stadthouse, or at least the Two Alliances in Two several Rooms, whilst we shou'd meet in another, and be there

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ready to perform all Offices between them. This last was accepted, and we designed the several Rooms for our Selves and the Parties, but were forc'd to find Two Rooms for the *French* and *Swedes* to meet apart, whose Competition, tho' Allies, wou'd not suffer them to meet in one, or decide it by Lot, as the *Spaniards* and *Danes* had done.

There remain'd one Difficulty more, which particularly concern'd His Majesty. Both *French* and *Spaniards*, as well as *Imperialists*, had insisted, even with Emulation, That the Pope's Mediation shou'd be mention'd in the new Powers, as well as His Majesty's. The *Dutch* and *Danes* both had absolutely refus'd to Treat upon any Powers where the Pope's Mediation shou'd be mention'd. We had likewise represented to them, How great a Difference there was between His Majesty's Mediation, that had been accepted by all Parties, and the Popes, that had been so only by a part of them; and the very Mention of it absolutely refus'd by several others, to be admitted into the Powers: That His Majesty's Mediation had propos'd the Place of Treaty, exchange'd the Passports, form'd the Assembly, manag'd all the Negotiations in it so long, without the Appearance of any Minister from the Pope, or Knowledge whether he would be receiv'd if he came, or by whom his Mediation wou'd be accepted or imploy'd. At length it was resolv'd That the Mention of His Majesty's Mediation alone shou'd be made in the several Powers: And so all being agreed, about the Middle of February all the several Acts were sign'd, and put into our Hands, and by us exchange'd among the several Parties.

After this Dispatch of all Preliminaries to the Treaty, the several Parties by Agreement, brought into our Hands their several Propositions or Pretensions. The *French* seem'd in theirs to demand nothing of the Emperour and of *Brandenburg*, but the entire restoring of the Treaty of *Munster*: Of *Spain*, the retaining of all they had conquer'd in this War, upon the *Spaniards* having first broken the Peace. From the States General they made no Demand, but offer'd them the Restoring of their Friendship, and that they would hearken to a Treaty of Commerce. On the other Side, The Emperour's Demands were, that *France* shou'd restore to him, to the Empire, and all his Allies, whatever they had taken from them in the Course of this War, and make Reparation for all Damages they had suffer'd in it. The *Spaniards* demanded all the Places they had lost, and all the Damages they had suffer'd from *France* since the Year 1665. The *Dutch* demanded from *France* the Restitution of *Maestricht*, Satisfaction to the Prince of *Orange* in what did concern the Principality of *Orange*, and a Reglement of Commerce, with a Renunciation of all Pretensions each Party might have upon the other. As for the great Damages they had sustain'd, they said, they sacrific'd them all to the publick Peace, provided Satisfaction might be given to their Allies.

For the Northern Kings, and *German* Princes, their Demands were so extended, that I shall forbear relating them, and sum them up in this only, That those who had gain'd by the War, pretended to retain all they had got; and those that had lost, pretended to recover all they had lost, and to be repaid the Damages they had suffer'd by the War. Count *Kinsky* deliver'd into our Hands; likewise the Duke of *Lorraine*'s Pretensions, sealed as the rest were; but we open'd them not, upon the *French* telling us they had not receiv'd from Court any Counter-Pre-

ensions upon the Duke of *Lorraine*; whereof they believ'd the Reason to be, That no Minister of his had yet appear'd at the Congress. Indeed, their Pretensions against *Lorraine* had never yet been made since the Death of the late Duke, and wou'd have been very hard to draw up by their ablest of Ministers or Advocates themselves; and therefore they thought fit to decline them, and reserve them for the Terms of a Peace, when they shou'd be able to prescribe, rather than to treat them.

By these Propositions of the several Parties, it easily appear'd to the World what wise Men knew before, how little Hopes there were, of a Peace, from the Motions of this Treaty in the present Circumstances of Affairs; and how it was wholly to be expected from the Course and Influence of future Events in the Progress of the War.

About the 24th of February, I went to the Prince at his House at *Soesdyck*, a Days Journey from *Nimeguen*, upon a Letter from his Highness, desiring it of me. I had about a Week before written to him by the King's Command, upon which his Highness desir'd to speak with me. I went, and told him the Contents of my last Dispatch. He ask'd me whether it were from the King himself, or from any of the Ministers: I told him, it was from Secretary *Williamson*, by the King's Command. The Prince said, Then he knew from whence it came; but however desir'd me to read the Particulars to him: Which were, the King's Apprehension of a Mistake in the Prince, because the Terms mention'd by his Majesty were not any Propositions (which he did not think his part to make,) nor had he any Authority for it, but only a piece of Confidence he had enter'd into with the Prince. Next, That the Exchange of *Cambrai*, was only propos'd as a thing to be wish'd; that so six Towns might be restor'd to *Spain*, instead of five the Prince had propos'd, which in His Majesty's Opinion would make a kind of a double Frontier to *Brussels*, and so leave *Flanders* safer than by the Prince's Scheme; Therefore His Majesty desir'd the Prince would think further of it, and not let it fall so flat as he did by his last Answer, without trying what it could be beaten out to. But however offer'd, That if His Highness had any other proposition to make to *France*, the King would very readily hand it over to them in the best manner he could.

Whilst I was reading this to the Prince, He could hardly hear it out with any Patience, Sir I——W——'s Style was always so disagreeable to him; and he thought the whole Cast of this so artificial, that he receiv'd it at first with Indignation and Scorn, rather than with those further Thoughts that were desir'd of him. He said the Style of *Letting it fall so flat*, was my Lord *Arlington's*; and *The double Frontier, as is were, for Brussels*, was some of the Secretary's *Cresme Fouettee* [Whipt Cream,] and fit for Children. The rest he took to be all the French Ambassador's; who would fain continue a private Treaty with him by the King's Hand, while his Master went into the Field. His Answer was very plain: That he had thought enough of it, and had no more to say at this Time. That when he spoke to me so lately at the *Hague*, He believ'd the Peace might have been made, and upon better terms than he propos'd, if the King had desir'd them from *France*, either upon Kindness to him, or upon the Interests of his own Crowns. That he was sorry to find the King's thoughts so different from His; and that whenever they grew nearer, he should be glad to know it.

But he look'd now upon the Campaign as begun ; and believ'd at the time we talk'd, the Guns were playing before *Valvedun*. That he saw now no Hopes of a Peace, but expected a long War ; unless *Flanders* should be lost, and in that case the States must make the best terms they could. That he expected a very ill Beginning of the Campaign, to make an ill Figure in it himself, and to bear the Shame of Faults that others would make ; but if the Empeor perform'd what he had promis'd, the Campaign might not end as it began. That however he was in, and must go on, *Et quand on est a la grande messe, on y est.* [And when one is at High-Mass, one is at it ;] (meaning, I suppose, that one must stay till 'tis done, because the Crowd is so great one can't get out.) That he gave his Majesty Thanks for his offers of handing over to *France* any Proposition he should make ; but That never was his meaning : For if it had, He could easily have found a directer way. That his Intention was only to enter into a Confidence with his Majesty upon the Subject of the Peace, and to owe it wholly to him ; but if any thing was propos'd by the King to *France*, otherwise than as His own Thoughts, it must be from the Body of the Alliance, and not from Him.

After these Discourses, the Prince went immediately away for the *Hague*, and I return'd to *Nimeguen* ; where all Negotiations seem'd wholly at a stand, and so continu'd till towards the End of *April*. In this time arriv'd Monsieur *Stratman*, one of the Imperial Ambassadors ; Monsieur *Christin*, one of the *Spanish* ; but he and *Don Pedro* having only the Character of Plenipotentiaries, and pretending thereupon the Treatment of Ambassadors, and the *French* and *Swedes* refusing it to that Character, they continu'd *incognito* till the Arrival of the Marquess *De Balbares*.

For Monsieur *Stratman* ; Upon his Notification to the several Ambassadors (at the same time, as he said,) the *Dane* and the *Swede* made him first their Visits, and after them the *French* : Whereupon, having first made his to the Mediators, he return'd them to the *Swede*, the *Dane* being out of Town ; after which he sent to demand an Hour of the *French* ; but Monsieur *D' Estrades* return'd him Answer, That having fail'd of the Respect due to the King his Master, they would not admit of any Visit from him. Hereupon Monsieur *Kinski* and Monsieur *Stratman* desir'd us to ask upon what Point the *French* refus'd their Visit, saying, It could be upon no other but a Pretence of Preference to all other Crowns, and expecting the first Visit to be made the *French*, tho' other Ambassadors had first visited the Imperialists. This they desir'd much the *French* would avow, believing it would embroil them with the *Swedes* as well as with us, who they knew would declare against any such Pretence. But the *French*, upon our Application from the Imperialists, kept staunch to their first Answer, That Monsieur *Stratman*, *avoit manque du respect au Roy leur Maistre.* [had been wanting in the respect due to the King their Master.] That he had done it in several points, and knew very well in what : And further than This they would not enter into the Matter, but continued positive in refusing the Visit.

Whilst such Matters as these help'd to amuse the Congress, and keep them in Countenance, the essential Parts of the Treaty were manag'd in the Field : *France* had in the beginning of the Year block'd up *Cambray*, and

and *Valenciennes* about the end of *February*. Having provided sufficient Magazines in the Winter, for the Subsistence of their Forces, they began to break into *Flanders*, and into the Parts of *Germany* on the other side the *Rhine*, and with all the most cruel Ravages of Burning and Spoiling those Parts of *Germany* that could be exercis'd, and such as had not yet been us'd on either Side since the War began. The Allies made Complaints of this new manner of War, to His Majesty; who imploy'd his Offices towards *France*, to hinder such prosecution of a Quarrel, while a Peace was treating under his Mediation: But the thing was done, and their Point was gain'd; which was, by an entire Ruin of the Country, to hinder the Imperialists from finding any Subsistence for their Troops; if they should march into *Alsace*, and thereby divert those Forces that the *French* resolv'd to employ this Spring in *Flanders*, before the *Dutch* could take the Field and march to the relief of those Places they intended to attack.

About the Seventeenth of *March*, the King of *France* took *Valenciennes*: having surmounted the very Force of the Seasons, and set down before it about the beginning of that Month. From thence he march'd with a mighty Army, and laid Siege to *Cambray* with one part of it, and to *St. Omer* with the other, under the Duke of *Orleans*. After five Days Siege from the opening of the Trenches, he took *Cambray*, like all the other *Spanish* Towers, by surrender upon Articles; but the Cittadel held out for some Days longer.

In the mean time, the *Dutch* aving receiv'd ther Payments due from *Spain*, and finding the *French* go on with their design upon *Flanders*, whilst the Treaty serv'd but for an Amusement, resolv'd to go on with the War for another Campaign; being kept up to this Resolution by the vigour of the Prince of *Orange*, in pressing them upon the Observance of their Treaties, and pursuit of their Interest, in the defence of *Flanders*. Upon the first motion of the *French*, the Prince had begun to prepare for that of his Troops likewise, and press'd the *Spaniards* to have theirs in readiness to joyn him; and with all imaginable endeavours provided for the Subsistence of his Army in their March through *Flanders*, which the *Spaniards* had taken no care of. But with all the Diligence and Application that cou'd be used, he cou'd not come to the Relief either of *Valenciennes* or *Cambray*; but with part of the Forces of the States alone, and without either Troops, or so much as Guides, furnish'd him by the *Spaniards*, he march'd directly towards *St. Omer*, resolute to raise that Siege with the hazard of a Battle, at what Disadvantage soever. The Duke of *Orleans* leaving a small part of his Troops to defend his Trenches before *St. Omer*, march'd to meet the Prince of *Orange*, and upon the way was reinforc'd by Monsieur *De Luxemburg*, with all the Troops the *French* King could send out of his Army, leaving only enough to continue the Siege before the Cittadel of *Cambray*. These Armies met, and fought with great Bravery at *Mons Cassal*, where, after a sharp Dispute, the first Regiment of the *Dutch* Infantry began to break, and fall into Disorder: The Prince went immediately to that part whereof the Shake began, rally'd them several times, and renew'd the Charge; but at last was born down by the plain Flight of his Men, whom he was forc'd to resist like Enemies, and fall in among them with his Sword in his Hand; and cutting the first cross the Face; cry'd out aloud, *Coquin je te marqueray au moins, à fin de te faire pendre*, [I'll set a Mark on thee at least, that I may hang thee

thee afterwards.] Voice not Actions, Threats nor Examples, could give Courage to Men that had already lost it; and so the Prince was forc'd to yield to the Stream that carried him back to the rest of his Troops, which yet stood firm; with whom, and what he could gather of those that had been routed, he made a Retreat that wanted little of the Honour of a Victory; and will, by the confession of his Enemies, make a part of that great Character they so justly allow him. The Safety of the *Dutch Army*, upon this Misfortune, was by them wholly own'd to his Highness's Conduct as well as Bravery in the course of this Action; after which, both *St. Omer* and the Cittadel of *Cambray* were surrender'd to the *French* about the twentieth of *April*, with which the *Spaniards* lost the main Strength of their Frontier of *Flanders* on that Side; (as they had done that on the other side by *Acth* and *Charleroy* in the former War) and all the Hopes of raising any Contributions in *France*, which was a great part of the Subsistence of the *Spanish Troops*; so as there now remain'd nothing of Frontier considerable, besides *Namur* and *Mons* to the Land, *Ostend* and *Newport* to the Sea; and the rest of the *Spanish Netherlands* consisted only of great Towns, by which no Resistance could be hop'd for, whenever the *French* should think fit to attack them, and could spare Men enough to Garrison them when they should be taken. For the Greatness of those Towns, and Multitude of Inhabitants, and their inveterate Hatred to the *French Government*, was such, as without very great Garrisons they could not be held; unless upon one sudden Conquest and Revolution, the whole *Spanish Netherlands* should become *French*, and thereby be made a new Frontier towards the *Dutch* and *Germans*, and, like a new Conquest, the Seat of their Armies.

This the *Spaniards* thought would never be suffer'd, neither by *England* nor *Holland*; and so they seem'd to have abandon'd the Fate of *Flanders* to their Care, with a Resignation that became good Christians, rather than good Reasoners. For I have long observ'd, from all I have seen, or heard, or read in Story, that nothing is so fallacious, as to reason upon the Counsels or Conduct of Princes or States, from what one conceives to be the true Interest of their Countries: For there is in all places an Interest of those that Govern, and another of those that are Govern'd: Nay, among these, there is an Interest of quiet Men, that desire only to keep what they have; and another of unquiet Men, who desire to acquire what they have not; and by violent, if they cannot by lawful means. Therefore I never could find a better way of judging the Resolutions of a State, than by the personal Temper and Understanding, or Passions and Humours, of the Princes, or Chief Ministers, that were for the time at the Head of Affairs. But the *Spaniards* reason'd only from what they thought the Interest of each Country. They knew *Holland* would save *Flanders* if they could, and *England* they were sure could if they would, and beliv'd would be brought to it at last, by the Increase of the Danger, and Force of their own Interest, and the Humour of the People. In this Hope or Presumption they were a great deal flatter'd by their Ministers then in *England*, *Don Bernard De Salinas*, Envoy from *Spain*, and *Fonseca*, Consul there; who did indeed very industriously foment the Heats that began about this time to appear in the Parliament, upon the Apprehensions of the *French* Conquests both in *Flanders* and *Sicily*; which moved them, about the end of *March*, to make an Address to the King, representing the Progresses of *France*, and desiring His Majesty to put a stop to them

them, before they grew dangerous to *England*, as well as to their Neighbours. *Don Bernard De Salinas* told some of the Commons, That the King was very angry at this Address, and had said upon it, That the Authors of it were a Company of Rogues; which made a great Noise in the House of Commons. The King resented it as a Piece of Malice in *Salinas*, or at least as a Design to inflame the House; and thereupon order'd him to depart the Kingdom within certain Days. Yet, about a Month after, the Parliament made another Address, upon the same Occasion; desiring His Majesty to make a League Offensive and Defensive with the States-General, for opposing the Progress of the *French* Conquests. This His Majesty receiv'd as an Invasion of his Prerogative, made them an angry Answer, and Prorogued the Parliament till the Winter following.

However, *France* had so much regard to the Jealousies rais'd both in *England* and *Holland*, of their designing an intire Conquest of *Flanders*, that, after having gain'd those three important Frontier-Towns so early in the Spring, and dispers'd his Army after that Expedition, that King return'd home; writ to his Majesty, That to shew he had no Intention to conquer *Flanders*, but only to make a General Peace, he was contented, notwithstanding the great Advantages and Forces he had at present, to make a General Truce, in case his Allies the *Swedes* would agree to it; which he desir'd His Majesty to inform himself of, since he had not Convenience of doing it, for want of Liberty of Couriers into *Sweden*.

The Contents of this Letter were proned by the *French* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* among the several Ministers there, till they found it had an effect contrary to what was intended, and was taken by all for too gross an Artifice. It pass'd very ill with Monsieur *Van Beurning* himself, who of all others there, was the most passionately bent upon the Peace. But he said openly upon this, That the *French* were to be commended, who never neglected any thing of Importance, nor so much as of Amusement: That *France* had given their Blow, and would now hinder the Allies from giving theirs: That the Reserve of *Sweden's* Consent, was an easy way of avoiding the Truce, if the Allies should accept it: That this it self could not be done, because *Flanders* would be left so open, as to be easily swallow'd up by the next Invasion, having no Frontier on either Side. That the Towns now possess'd by *France*, would in the time of a Truce grow absolutely *French*, and so the harder to be restor'd by a Peace or a War. That for his part, he desir'd the Peace; contrary to the Politicks of Monsieur *Van Beurninghen*, and the other Ministers of the Allies in *England*; affirming always, That notwithstanding all their Intrigues and Intelligences there, He, Monsieur *Van Beurning*, was assur'd, That his Majesty would not enter into the War, to save the last Town in *Flanders*. This Confidence made him pursue all the ways towards a Peace, and by Paces which some thought forwarder than his Commission, and very ill concerted with those of his Allies. About the middle of *April*, he brought us the Project of a Treaty of Commerce both for *France* and *Sweden*, and desir'd we would make the Communication of them; which we did for form, though we knew that those Ministers had been before possess'd of them from the *Dutch* Ambassadors themselves. And some few Days after, they entered into Conferences upou this Project at the *French* Ambassadors Houses,

thee afterwards.] Voice nor Actions, Threats nor Examples, could give Courage to Men that had already lost it; and so the Prince was forc'd to yield to the Stream that carried him back to the rest of his Troops, which yet stood firm; with whom, and what he could gather of those that had been routed, he made a Retreat that wanted little of the Honour of a Victory; and will, by the confession of his Enemies, make a part of that great Character they so justly allow him. The Safety of the *Dutch Army*, upon this Misfortune, was by them wholly own'd to his Highness's Conduct as well as Bravery in the course of this Action; after which, both *St. Omer* and the Cittadel of *Cambray* were surrender'd to the *French* about the twentieth of *April*, with which the *Spaniards* lost the main Strength of their Frontier of *Flanders* on that Side, (as they had done that on the other side by *Acth* and *Charleroy* in the former War) and all the Hopes of raising any Contributions in *France*, which was a great part of the Subsistence of the *Spanish Troops*; so as there now remain'd nothing of Frontier considerable, besides *Namur* and *Mons* to the Land, *Ostend* and *Newport* to the Sea; and the rest of the *Spanish Netherlands* consisted only of great Towns, by which no Resistance could be hop'd for, whenever the *French* should think fit to attack them, and could spare Men enough to Garrison them when they should be taken. For the Greatness of those Towns, and Multitude of Inhabitants, and their inveterate Hatred to the *French Government*, was such, as without very great Garrisons they could not be held; unless upon one sudden Conquest and Revolution, the whole *Spanish Netherlands* should become *French*, and thereby be made a new Frontier towards the *Dutch* and *Germans*, and, like a new Conquest, the Seat of their Armies.

This the *Spaniards* thought would never be suffer'd, neither by *England* nor *Holland*; and so they seem'd to have abandon'd the Fate of *Flanders* to their Care, with a Resignation that became good Christians, rather than good Reasoners. For I have long observ'd, from all I have seen, or heard, or read in Story, that nothing is so fallacious, as to reason upon the Counsels or Conduct of Princes or States, from what one conceives to be the true Interest of their Countries: For there is in all places an Interest of those that Govern, and another of those that are Govern'd: Nay, among these, there is an Interest of quiet Men, that desire only to keep what they have; and another of unquiet Men, who desire to acquire what they have not; and by violent, if they cannot by lawful means. Therefore I never could find a better way of judging the Resolutions of a State, than by the personal Temper and Understanding, or Passions and Humours, of the Princes, or Chief Ministers, that were for the time at the Head of Affairs. But the *Spaniards* reason'd only from what they thought the Interest of each Country. They knew *Holland* would save *Flanders* if they could, and *England* they were sure could if they would, and beliv'd would be brought to it at last, by the Increase of the Danger, and Force of their own Interest, and the Humour of the People. In this Hope or Presumption they were a great deal flatter'd by their Ministers then in *England*, *Don Bernard De Salinas*, Envoy from *Spain*, and *Fonseca*, Consul there; who did indeed very industriously foment the Heats that began about this time to appear in the Parliament, upon the Apprehensions of the *French Conquests* both in *Flanders* and *Sicily*; which moved them, about the end of *March*, to make an Address to the King, representing the Progresses of *France*, and desiring His Majesty to put a stop to them

them, before they grew dangerous to *England*, as well as to their Neighbours. *Don Bernard De Salinas* told some of the Commons, That the King was very angry at this Address, and had said upon it, That the Authors of it were a Company of Rogues; which made a great Noise in the House of Commons. The King resented it as a Piece of Malice in *Salinas*, or at least as a Design to inflame the House; and thereupon order'd him to depart the Kingdom within certain Days. Yet, about a Month after, the Parliament made another Address, upon the same Occasion; desiring his Majesty to make a League Offensive and Defensive with the States-General, for opposing the Progress of the *French* Conquests. This His Majesty receiv'd as an Invasion of his Prerogative, made them an angry Answer, and Prorogued the Parliament till the Winter following.

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Houses, whom they found very easy in the Terms the *Dutch* insisted on for their Commerce, which was all that could make any Difficulty between them.

1677. About the End of *April*, the Ministers of the Allies came, and presented us their several Answers in Writing to the *French* Propositions; which they offer'd to leave with us, whenever we should assure them that the *French* and *Swedes* were ready with theirs. Upon this Communication given to the *French*, they were positive to give no Answer in Writing, nor to receive any, alledging both Reason and Example for their Opinion; this from the Practice of the *Munster-Treaty*, that from the Danger of the investive Stile or Language that are apt to enter into the Writings of each Party upon such Occasions. The Allies were for some time as peremptory in their Resolution of delivering their Answers in writing; but both at last agreed upon the Expedient we proposed, of dictating to us what they intended should be said to the other Party, of our setting the Substance down in Writing, and reading it over to them first who dictated to us, so as they might be Judges whether we had rightly apprehended and expressed their Meaning; and yet the thing might go in our Style, and not in theirs; by which all Sharpness and Provocation would be avoided.

About the Middle of *May*, arriv'd President *Canon*, Envoy from the Duke of *Lorraine*, and put his Master's Pretensions into our Hands; upon which the Allies expected a return of those from *France* upon that Duke, no Room being now left for delaying them from the want of a Minister upon the Place: But the *French* said very plainly, It was a Matter they were not instructed in; which the Allies receiv'd with great Stomach, and perpetual Complaints to us the Mediators; all professing, they were resolv'd not to proceed in the Treaty without carrying on the Interests of that Duke, an equal Pace with their own.

About the end of *May*, arriv'd the Pope's *Nuncio*; whereupon the *Swedish* and *Danish* Ambassadors resorted immediately to us, desiring to know how we intended to carry our selves in what regarded that Minister; professing themselves to be much in pain, being on one Side very much press'd, the *Swedes* by the *French*, and the *Danes* by the *Imperialists* and *Spaniards*, to the Enterchange at least of common Ceremonies and Civilities, with a Minister for whom they all with Emulation profess'd so great respect and Deference: On t'other side, the *Swedes* and *Danes* pretended neither to have Instruction nor Example from their respective Courts, to determine them in this Matter; but said they were resolv'd to observe and consider the steps that should be made by us. We cut the Business very short, and declar'd to them our Resolution to have no sort of Commerce with the Pope's *Nuncio*, either in the Affairs of our Function, or in matters of Ceremony; and told them our Orders from Court were so precise in this Point, that they would admit of no Debate. The next Day, Monsieur *Colbert* and Monsieur *D' Avaux* came formally to give us part of the *Nuncio's* Arrival, and of his Desire to make us his first Compliments, if he might know they would be receiv'd: Our Answer to them was the same we had made to the *Swedes* and *Danes*; and soon after, all the Ministers of Protestant Princes at *Nimeguen*, resolv'd to follow our Example, and to have no Commerce at all with the *Nuncios*.

About

About the same time, after many Messages carried by us between the Parties, they were perswaded at last into the Agreement of delivering and exchanging by our Hands, their Answers to each others Propositions in writing, tho' without pretending to pursue that Method in the succeeding Passes of the Negotiation. Nor was there need of that Caution, for this I take to have been the last Pace of any free and general Negotiation between the Parties engag'd in the War, and in the Treaty; nor were the Answers any thing nearer agreeing, than the first Propositions.

The last Day of *May*, arriv'd the Marquess *De Balbacea*, First Ambassador from *Spain*, and about the same time, my Lord *Berkley* return'd into *England*, where he languish'd out the rest of the Summer, and died.

About the Seventh of *June*, the *Dutch* Ambassadors brought us the Project of a Treaty between them and *France*, digested and extended in all its Forms and Articles; and told us soon after, They had, in a Conference upon it with the *French* Ambassadors, agreed, in a manner, all the Points of it; at least that there remain'd but two, which concern'd Commerce only, undetermin'd between them, which they doubted not wou'd be agreed likewise upon Return of the *French* Dispatches from Court: That after their Business was ended, they wou'd perform the best Offices they cou'd between their Allies and the *French*. And indeed, by the Beginning of *July*, all Points were accordingly agreed between the *French* and *Dutch*, and Monsieur *Van Beverning* began to play the Part of something more than a Mediator; pressing on his Allies towards a Peace with Paces very earnest and something rough, and, as some believ'd, more than he had Order for from his Masters, who yet pretended to hold Hands with their Allies. But Monsieur *Van Beverning* profess'd to believe, that their Friends at the *Hague* were impos'd upon by *Van Brunningen* and the *Spanish* Ministers at *London*, who still animated them with Hopes of the King's entering into the War, or at least prescribing a Plan of the Peace to be receiv'd by all Parties; which *Van Beverning* believ'd neither one nor t'other of, and pretended to be morally assur'd of his Opinion, and thereupon grounded the absolute Necessity of a Peace.

In this Month, the Duke of *Zell* began to make a Difficulty of sending the Five Thousand Men he had promis'd to the Allies, without some new Stipulations: And the *French* offer'd a Guaranty to the House of *Lunenburg*, of all their Conquests on the *Swede* in *Bremen*, upon a Neutrality to be declar'd by those Dukes; which began to give great Umbrages to the Allies, as well as the *Swedes*, of some separate Measures like to be concluded between *France* and the whole House of *Brunswick*. The *Dutch* Ambassadors were likewise in Pain, upon new Intelligence, both from *Vienne* and *Madrid*, about a Separate Peace being treated between *Don John* and the *French*; with an Exchange of the *Spanish* Netherlands for what shou'd be restor'd them in *Roussillon* and *Sicily*. The Ministers of the Confederates made great Instances in *England*, That His Majesty wou'd recall his Troops that were in the *French* Service, attributing most of their Successes in *Germany*, to the Bravery of those *English* Regiments. But His Majesty excus'd it upon the Equality of a Mediator, since there were *English* Troops of greater Number in the Service of the Allies: Who took this Answer however for an ill Sign of that Prosecution which they hop'd from His Majesty, for the Relief of their languishing Affairs. The hopes of those great Actions promis'd by the *Imperialists* this Summer on the *Rhine* began to flat, their Troops finding no Subsistence in

those Countries, which had been wholly debilitated by the French in the beginning of the Year, to prevent their March. The Prince of Orange observing all these Circumstances, and foreseeing no Resource for the Interests of the Allies, unless from His Majesty; and that it was likely to prove an unactive Summer in *Holland*, the French resolving not to come to a Battle, and he not able to form a Siege, and oppose a French Army that shou'd come to relieve it; he sent Monsieur Bernart over into England about the beginning of *June*, to desire His Majesty's Leave, that he might make a Journey thither so soon as the Campaign ended. He receiv'd a civil Answer; but with Wishes from the King, That he wou'd first think of making the Peace, and rather defer his Journey till that were concluded.

About the middle of *June*, my Son came over to me at *Nimeguen*, and brought me Letters from my Lord Treasurer, to signify His Majesty's Pleasure, that I should come over, and enter upon the Secretary of State's Office, which Mr. *Cowper* had offer'd His Majesty to lay down upon the Payment of Ten Thousand Pounds: That the King wou'd pay Half the Money, and I must lay down the rest at present; tho' his Lordship did not doubt but the King wou'd find the way of easing me in time of that too. I writ immediately to my Lord Treasurer, to make my Acknowledgment to His Majesty; but at the same time my Excuses, That I was not in a Condition to lay down such a Sum, my Father being still alive, and keeping the Estate of the Family; and desiring that the King's Intention might at least be respighted, till he saw how the present Treaty was like to determine. In return of my Letters, on the Second of *July*, Mr. *Smith*, one of the King's Messengers, being sent Express, and making great Diligence, arriv'd at *Nimeguen*, and brought me His Majesty's Commands, to repair immediately over in a Yacht which he had sent on purpose for me: In Obedience to this Command, I left *Nimeguen*, but without any Ceremony, pretending only a sudden Journey into England, but saying nothing of the Occasion, further than to my nearest Friends.

At my Arrival, the King ask'd me many Questions about my Journey, about the Congress, *draping* us for spending him so much Money, and doing nothing; and about Sir *Lionel*, asking me how I had bred him, and how he pass'd among the Ambassadors there; and other Pleasantries upon that Subject. After a good deal of this kind of Conversation, he told me, I knew for what he had sent for me over, and that 'twas what he had long intended; and I was not to thank him, because he did not know any Body else to bring into that Place. I told His Majesty, That 'twas too great a Compliment for me, but was a very ill one to my Country, and which I thought it did not deserve: That I believ'd there were a great many in it fit for that, or any other Place he had to give; and I cou'd name two in a Breath, that I wou'd undertake wou'd make better Secretaries of State than I. The King said, Go, get you gone to *Spain*, we shall have no Good of you till you have been there; and when you have rested your self, come up again. I never saw him in better Humour, nor ever knew a more agreeable Conversation, when he was so; and where he was pleas'd to be familiar, great Quickness of Conception, great Pleasantness of Wit, with great Variety of Knowledge, more Observation and truer Judgment of Men, than one wou'd have imagin'd by so careless and easie a manner as was natural to him in all he said or did. From his own Temper, he desir'd nothing but to be easie himself, and that e-

very

any Body else shou'd be for, and wou'd have been glad to see the least of his Subjects pleas'd, and to refuse no Man what he ask'd. But this Softness of Temper made him apt to fall into the Persuasions of whoever had his Kindest and Confidence for the time, how different soever from the Opinions he was of before; and he was very easie to change Hands, when those he employ'd seem'd to have engag'd him in any Difficulties: So as nothing look'd steddily in the Conduct of his Affairs, nor aim'd at any certain End. Yet sure no Prince has more Qualities to make him lov'd, with a great many to make him esteem'd, and all without a Grain of Pride or Vanity in his whole Constitution: Nor can he suffer Flattery in any Kind, growing uneasie upon the first Approaches of it, and turning it off to something else. But this Humour has made him lose many great Occasions of Glory to himself, and Greatness to his Crown, which the Conjunctions of his Reign conspir'd to put into his Hand; and have made way for the aspiring Thoughts and Designs of a Neighbour Prince, which wou'd not have appear'd, or cou'd not have succeeded in the World, without the Applications and Arts employ'd to manage this easie and inglorious Humour of the King.

I staid two Days at *Shew*, in which time some of Secretary *Coven*'s Friends had prevail'd with him not to part with his Place, if he cou'd help it, unless the King wou'd let him recommend the Person to succeed him, who shou'd pay all the Money he expected, and which the King had charg'd himself with. When I came to Town, the King told me in his Closet all that had pass'd between him and Mr. *Coven*, the Day before upon this Occasion: That he did not understand what he meant, nor what was at the Bottom; for what he had first spoke to His Majesty about parting with his Place, said, his Health wou'd not go through with it, made the Price he expected for it, and concluded all before he had sent for me over: That now he pretended he did not mean to quit it, unless he might present one to succeed him; and he hop'd he had not deserv'd His Majesty shou'd turn him out. But the King said upon it, That, under Favour, he was resolv'd to take him at his Word; and so he had told him, and left him to digest it as he cou'd. Upon this I represented to the King, How old and true a Servant Mr. *Coven* had been of his Father and him; how well he had serv'd him in this Place; how well he was able to do it still by the great Credit he had in the House of Commons, where the King's great Business lay in the ill State of his Revenue; how ill such a Treatment wou'd agree with His Majesty's Nature and Customs: And for my own Part, That it wou'd be a great Favour to me, to respite this Change, till he saw what was like to become of the Treaty, or the War; and therefore I begg'd of him, that he would not force a good Secretary out, and perhaps an ill one in, against both their Wills; but let Mr. *Coven* keep it, at least till he seem'd more willing to part with it. The King said, Well then, he wou'd let it alone for the present, but did not doubt, in a little time, one or other of us, wou'd change our Mind.

In the mean time, the Design of my Journey was known, my Lord *Arbinger* and others still asking me when they shou'd give me Joy of it, and many making Applications to me for Places in the Office; which made the Court uneasy to me, and increas'd my known Humour of loving the Country, and being as much in it as I cou'd. However, when I came to Court, the King fell often into Conversation with me, and often in his Closet alone, or with none other present besides the Duke, or my Lord

Treasurer, and others both. The Subject of these Conversations was usually the Peace, and the Prince of *Orange's* Journey into *England*. The King always express'd a great Desire for the First, but not at all for the other till that was concluded. He said, his Parliament wou'd never be quiet nor easie to him, while the War lasted Abroad: They had got it into their Heads, to draw him into it, whether he wou'd or no: That they pretended to publick Ends, and Dangers from *France*; and there might be both meant by a great many honest Men among them; but the Heats and Distempers of late had been rais'd by some factious Leaders, who thought more of themselves than of any thing else, had a Mind to engage him in a War, and then leave him in it, unless they might have their Terms in removing and filling of Places; and he was very loath to be so much at their Mercy, as he shou'd be, if he were once engag'd in the War: That besides, he saw the longer he continu'd, the worse it wou'd be for the Confederates; more of *Flanders* wou'd be lost every Day; the Conduct of *Spain* must certainly ruine all in time; and therefore, he wou'd fain have the Prince make the Peace for them, if they wou'd not do it for themselves: That if he and the Prince cou'd fall into the Terms of it, he was sure it might be done. And, after several Discourses upon this Subject for near a Month, His Majesty at last told me, He had a great Mind I shou'd make a short Turn to the Prince, and try if I cou'd persuade him to it; and assure him, That after it was agreed, he shou'd be the gladdest in the World to see him in *England*. The Duke and my Lord Treasurer both press'd me upon the same Point; but I told them, at a long Conference upon it, how often I had been employ'd upon this Errand to the Prince, how unmoveable I had found him, and how sure I was to find him so still, unless the King wou'd consider of another Scheme for the Peace than had been yet propos'd to him, and wherein he might reckon upon more Safety to *Flanders*, as well as to his own Honour: That I had spent all my Shot, and was capable of saying no more to him, than I had done, in Obedience to all the Instructions I had receiv'd: That his Answers had been positive; so that some of my good Friends at Court pretended they had been my own Thoughts rather than the Prince's: That His Majesty wou'd do well to try another Hand, and he wou'd the better know the Prince's Mind, if his Answers were the same to both; if not, he wou'd at least know how ill I had serv'd him. The King said, It was a thing of Confidence between him and the Prince, and must be so treated, and he knew no Body he had besides to send. I told him, if he pleas'd, I wou'd name one: He bid me; and I said, Mr. *Hide* was idle ever since his return from *Nimeguen*, had been enter'd into the Commission of the Mediators there, staid with us a Fortnight or three Weeks, might pretend to return thither to exercise the same Function in my Absence, since the Commission run to any two of the Number, and might take the Prince of *Orange's* Camp in his way to *Nimeguen*, perform the King's Commands to his Highness, inform himself of his last Resolution upon the Subject of the Peace, go on to *Nimeguen*, without giving any Jealousie to the Allies, or without the Noise that my going wou'd make, since Sir *Lionel* had writ to Court and to me, That Monsieur *Van Brevern* had desir'd all Passes shou'd stop there till my Return, which he heard would be sudden, and that the King wou'd send by me his own Plan of the Peace. The Duke fell in first to the Proposal of Mr. *Hide's* going; and after some Debate, the King, and my Lord Treasurer, and that it shou'd be as soon

as possible. He was sent for accordingly, and dispatch'd away in all Points as I had propos'd. He found the Prince at the Camp, but unmoveable in the Business of the Peace upon the Terms His Majesty had Thoughts of proceeding; gave Account of all that pass'd in that Conference to the King, and went straight away to *Nimwegen*, and writ me Word of his Conversation with the Prince, and that he never saw such a Firmness in any Man.

I knew Mr. *Hide's* going to reside at *Nimwegen* would be of great Comfort and Support to Sir *Lionel*, who was in perpetual Agonies (as his Word was) after he was left alone in that Station; having ever so much Distrust of his own Judgment, that tho' he had the greatest Desire that cou'd be to do well, yet he many times cou'd not resolve how to go about it; and was often as much perplex'd about the little Punctillios of Visit and Ceremony that were left to busy that Ambassy, as if greater Affairs had still attended it. Besides, he lay under the Lash of Secretary *Williamson*, who, upon old Grudges between them at *Cologne*, never fail'd to lay hold of any Occasion he cou'd to censure his Conduct, and expose it at the Foreign Committee, where his Letters were read to His Majesty. It happen'd about this time, that the *Spanish* Ambassadors first appearing in publick upon a new Commission to all Three, gave immediate Notice of it to the Imperialists, who made their Visit upon it, and were within two Hours revisited by the *Spaniards*. After which, they sent their formal Notifications to all the other Ambassadors, and to the Mediators in the first Place. Sir *Lionel* was in Pain, having Orders to pretend the first Rank of Respect before the Imperialists, as well as other Ambassadors there; and not to yield, if it came to Competition. He had likewise another Order, which was, that upon Matters in Ceremony, doubtful, and not admitting the Delay of new Orders, he shou'd consult with the other Ambassadors, especially *French* and *Swedish*, who us'd to carry those Points the highest, and govern himself as well as he cou'd by Presidents and Examples. He consulted both these Ambassadors, whether he shou'd visit the *Spaniards*, after their having given the first Notice to the Imperialists? And they concluded, That he shou'd first know of them, whether it was done in Form, as to Ambassadors in general; or whether it was upon the Account of the near Alliance in Blood between those two Houses of *Austria*? That if it were the First, he ought not to visit them, as having put a Disrespect upon the Mediation, and distinguish'd the Emperor from all the other Crown'd Heads, who had yielded the Precedence wholly to them; which they wou'd not have done, if the Emperor had refus'd it. But if the *Spaniards* affirm'd it was only upon the Nearness of Blood between them, none of the other Ambassadors need take any Notice of it, since the same had been done between those two Crowns at *Munster* upon the same Score; which being there declar'd, it gave no Offence to the Mediators, tho' they were the Pope's Nuncios, with whom there was otherwise no Competition. Sir *Lionel* was satisfi'd by the *Spaniards*, (who gave it him in Writing) that the Visits were made only upon the Score of Kindred, as at *Munster*; and thereupon made them his Visit, and receiv'd theirs: For which he was sharply reprov'd by Secretary *Williamson's* Letter upon it, who had represented it to the King as a Disobedience to a positive Order, and giving up the Point to the Imperialists. But being at Court soon after these Dispatches, I endeavour'd to justify my Colleague's Intentions and his Proceedings, by shew-

not that he had conform'd to his other Orders of consulting the other Ambassadors, and proceeding according to the best President, which was that at *Münster*; and that if he had broken with the *Spaniards* upon this Point, he would have provok'd the *Imperialists* to declare their Resolution of not yielding to the Mediators, upon which the other Ambassadors would recall the Concession which they had already made in this Point, and so hazard, if not lose, the Possession His Majesty was in, of the first Respect given to his Mediation. I had the good Fortune to satisfy His Majesty and his Ministers, and to obtain Orders for his gracious Pardon to be sent Sir *Lionel*; (for they would suffer it to run in no other Terms; for which, however, the poor Gentleman made as great Acknowledgments, as if his Fault had been much greater and worse meant.

The rest of this Summer pass'd without any further Peace made in the Congress at *Nimwegen*, where the Messages carried and return'd about the Business of *Lorraine*, serv'd to keep the Mediators in Countenance, and no more. The whole Body of the Allies press'd for an Answer from the *French* to that Duke's Pretensions, delivered in by President *Cann*. The *French*, after their former Exception of his wanting a Minister there, rais'd another to shake off these Influences of the Allies, and declar'd they could give no Answer about *Lorraine*, till the Bishop of *Strasbourg's* Agents were receiv'd by the Allies, upon which the Emperor made an invincible Difficulty, declaring he would never treat with a Vassal of his own; And in these Conferences about *Lorraine*, the *French* Ambassadors began to insinuate to the Mediators, That their Master never intended that to be treated as a Principal, but only as an Accessary to the Treaty.

In *August*, arriv'd at *Nimwegen*, the Bishop of *Owick*, chief of the Imperial Ambassy; and Count *Assens*, of that from *Denmark*: The first was immediately visited by the *Spanish* Ambassadors, and return'd it; after which he sent his Notifications to the Mediators, and from them to the other Ambassadors; upon which no Difficulty was made by them, since the Bishop made the same Declarations the *Spaniards* had done before upon the like occasion, that the first Visits passing between the Ministers of the two Houses of *Austria* were Visits of Kindness and Consanguinity, and not of Ceremony. But Count *Assens* fell into endless Difficulties upon his first arrival. He intended to have sent his first Notification to the Mediators, as others had done; but the *Imperialists* having notice of this Intention, sent him direct Word, they expected the first Respect should be given the Emperor; and this was the first time they own'd that Pretension, in prejudice of the Honour hitherto done to the King's Mediation. Count *Assens* sent Monsieur *Haug*, his Colleague, to acquaint the Mediators with this Incident, and desire them to find out some Expedienc: They excus'd themselves, alledging their positive Orders to expect the first Notification. The *Dutch* were as unwilling to disoblige His Majesty, as the Emperor; and found no Temper in this matter, after many offer'd both by *French* and *Dutch* Ambassadors; so that Count *Assens*, resolv'd to leave it undecided, and to give no Notifications, or receive or make any Visits; but however assist'd at the Conferences among the Allies, and made a part of all the Evening Entertainments, at Play and in Conversation, and in the Apartments of the several Ambassadors; and this course he observ'd, during his Stay at *Nimwegen*, which was seven or eight Months: For the rest, a Person very much esteem'd for his generous Qualities, and Gentlemanly Humour and Conversation, and yielding to some upon the Place

Place in the Greatness and Splendor of his Equipage; wherein the Marquess *De Balhaces*, and Count *Antoine* seem'd to distinguish themselves from all the rest.

About the End of *July*, the Prince of *Orange* made an Attempt upon *Charleroy*, rather than a Siege. This had been before concerted with the Duke of *Lorrain*, who made a main of entring into *Champagne*, on purpose to draw off the *French* Forces from attending the Prince's Motions and Design upon *Charleroy*. The Prince had hopes to take it by Surprise; but found those of the Garrison upon their Guard, and very strong, as well as the Place, which had been fortified with all the force of Art and Expence, that could be employ'd upon a Place of that Compass. He sat down before it, and would have besieg'd it in a form, if the Duke of *Lorrain* could have diverted the *French* Army from relieving it; but Monsieur *De Louvois*, with great diligence, leaving the Marshal *De Crequi* with force enough to face that Duke, assembled a very great Army for the Relief of *Charleroy*; upon approach whereof, the Prince call'd a Council of War, to resolve whether to march and fight the *French* Army, or raise the Siege. The last was resolv'd upon debate at the Council, and accordingly executed, and therewith ended this Campaign in *Flanders*. But this March and Retreat of the Prince, pass'd not without many Reflections, not only among the Allies, but in *Holland* too, as if he had given over the Design upon some Intelligences and Expresses between Him and the King about this time. Monsieur *Boutinck* had gone over and return'd, without any Body's knowing his Business: My Lord *Ossory* happen'd to arrive in the Camp, the day before the Council of War, upon which the Siege was rais'd; which made many think, something his Lordship brought from *England*, was the Occasion of it. But I could never find there was any thing more in his Journey than the hopes of seeing a Battle (which was ever a particular Inclination of my Lord *Ossory*) and a Cast of my Lord *Arington* to preserve himself in the Prince's Favour and Confidence as much as he could, by my Lord *Ossory's* keeping close to him, at a time when he saw the Business of *Christendom* roll so much upon the Person of the Prince.

About this time, the Assembly at *Nimeguen* seem'd in danger of being broken by a passionate Motion the *Suedes* made in it. There had been a long Contest since it first began, between the *Suedes* and *Danes*, about Freedom of Passage for the *Swedish* Couriers through the *Danish* Territories, for managing their Correspondencies necessary with their Court. The *Danes* pretended the example of *France*, who refus'd the same Liberty to the *Spaniards*. This Dispute had been manag'd by many Messages, wherewith the Mediators had been charg'd between the Parties, wherein the Allies of both sides took equal part. Sometimes the matter had been Treated with very pressing Instances, and sometimes with Rainter; sometimes almost let fall, and then again resum'd, and thus for a Year past: But about this time, the *Suedes* come to the Mediators, desire their Offices once more to the *Danes* upon this Subject, and declare, that without this Liberty insisted upon so long for their Couriers, they find themselves incapable of giving Advices necessary to their Court, or receiving Orders necessary from it; and that without it, they must be forc'd to leave the Assembly. This Resolution of the *Suedes* continu'd for some time so Peremptory, that it

was

was expected to come to that Issue; but after some *Fog* spent for about a Fortnight or Three Weeks upon this occasion, and some Temperament found out by the *Dumb* for the secure and speedy passage of all the *Swedish* Dispatches by *Amsterdam*, those Ambassadors began to grow soft and calm again, and to go on their usual Paces. Soon after, the *French* Ambassadors, who had Treated the *Swedish* Affairs and Ministers with great indifferency and neglect in this Treaty, (declaring to Monsieur *Van Beverning*, their Master would not part with one Town in *Flanders*, to restore the *Swedes* to all they had lost) began wholly to change their Language, and say upon all occasions, That *France* could not make a Peace without the full satisfaction and Restitution of the *Swedes*; and it was discours'd, that the *French* and *Swedes* had enter'd into a new Alliance at *Paris* to this purpose: And some believ'd, it was by Concern between them, that this *Ansime* was given by the *Swedes* to the Congress; that the *French* had at that time a mind to break it, and to enter into a Treaty with *Spain* under the Pope's direction, and at *Rome*, not knowing to what measures his Majesty might be induced upon the Progress of the *French* Conquests, and the Distempers Raised in His Parliament upon that occasion. But this Gust blown over, all was becalm'd at *Nimwegen*; so that Monsieur *Olivetians* left that Place about the end of *August*, upon a Journey to *Sweden*.

Till this time the Motions of Business had been respited in the Assembly, upon a General expectation that the King was sending me over suddenly with the Plan of a Piece that he resolv'd should be made, and to which it was not doubted but all Parties would yield, whatever it was; so great a Regard was held on all sides, of his Majesty's Will and Power. But a greater Stop was yet given to all further Paces there, by the Prince of *Oranges* Journey into *England*, about the end of *September* 1677. which wholly chang'd the Scene of this Treaty, and for the present carried it over to *London*, and left all the other places at a gaze only, and in expectation of what should be there agitated and concluded.

CHAP. III.

THE Prince, like a hasty Lover, came Post from *Harwich* to *Newmarket*, where the Court then was, as a Season and Place of Country Sports. My Lord *Arlington* attended his Highness at his lighting, making his Pretence of the chief Confidence with him; and the Court expected it upon his Alliance and Journeys into *Holland*. My Lord Treasurer and I went together to wait on him, but met him upon the middle of the Stairs, in a great Croud, coming down to the King. He whisper'd to us both together, and said to me, That he must desire me to answer for Him and my Lord Treasurer one to another, as they might from that time enter both into Business and Conversation, as if they had been of a longer Acquaintance; which was a Wise Strain,

considering his Lordship's Credit in Court at that time, and was of great use to the Prince in the Course his Affairs then in *England*; and tho' is much shock'd my Lord *Arlington* and his Friends, yet it could not be wonder'd at by such as knew what had pass'd of late between the Prince and him, with whom he only liv'd in common forms during his Stay. He was very kindly receiv'd by the King and the Duke; who both invited him often into discourses of Business; which they wonder'd to see him avoid or divert industriously, so as the King bid me find out the reason of it. The Prince told me, he was resolv'd to see the Young Princess before he enter'd into Affair; and to proceed in that, before the other of the Peace. The King laugh'd at this piece of Nicety when I told it Him; But however, to humour him in it, said he would go some days sooner than he had intended from *New-market*, which was accordingly done.

The Prince upon his arrival in Town, and sight of the Princess, was so pleas'd with her Person, and all those signs of such a humour as had been describ'd to him upon former inquiries, that he immediately made his Suit to the King and the Duke; which was very well receiv'd and assented to, but with this condition, That the Terms of a Peace abroad might be the first agreed on between them. The Prince excused himself, and said he must end his first business before he began the other. The King and Duke were both positive in their opinion; and the Prince resolute in his; and said at last, That his Allies, who were like to have hard Terms of the Peace as things then stood, would be apt to believe that he had made this Match at their cost, and for his part he would never sell his Honour for a Wife. This prevail'd not, but the King continued so positive for three or four days, that my Lord Treasurer and I began to doubt the whole business would break upon this point. About that time I chanc'd to go to the Prince after supper, and found him in the worst Humour that I ever saw him; he told me, he repented he had ever come into *England*, and resolv'd he would stay but two Days longer, and then be gone, if the King continued in his mind of Treating upon the Peace before he was Married; but that before he went, the King must chuse how they should live hereafter, for he was sure it must be either like the greatest Friends, or the greatest Enemies; and desired me to let His Majesty know so next morning, and give him account of what he should say upon it. I did so, early in the morning, told the King all the Prince had said to me the night before, and the ill consequences of a Breach between them; considering the ill humour of so many of his Subjects upon our late measures with *France*; and the invitations made the Prince by several of them, during the late War. The King heard me with great attention; and when I had done, said, Well; I never yet was deceived in judging of a Man's Honesty by his Looks, (of which he gave me some examples) and if I am not deceiv'd in the Prince's fare, he is the honestest Man in the World, and I will trust him and he shall have his Wife, and you shall go immediately and tell my Brother so, and that's a thing I am resolv'd on. I did so, and the Duke at first seem'd a little surpriz'd; but when I had done, He said, The King shall be obey'd, and I would be glad all his Subjects would learn of me to obey Him: I do tell him my Opinion very freely upon any thing; but when that is done, and I know his pleasure upon it, I obey him. From the Duke I went to the Prince, and told him my story, which he could at first hardly believe, but embrac'd me, and said

I had made him a very happy Man, and very unexpectedly : And so I left him to give the King an account of what had pass'd, and in the Prince's Anti-chamber met my Lord Treasurer, and told him the Story, who undertook to adjust all the rest between the King and the Prince ; which he did so well, that the Match was declared that Evening at the Committee, before any other in Court knew any thing of it, and next day it was declar'd in Council, and receiv'd there and everywhere else in the Kingdom, with the most universal Joy that I ever saw any thing in the King's Reign. The *French* Ambassador, and my Lord *Arlington* appear'd the only two Persons unsatisfied upon it at Court ; the first not knowing how he should answer it to his Master, That an Affair of that importance should pass without his Communication, much less Advice, in a Court where nothing before had been done so for many Years ; and my Lord *Arlington*, That it should pass without his knowledge, who still endeavour'd to keep up the Court-opinion of his Confidence with the Prince ; who told me the Compliment his Lordship had made him upon it, That some things good in themselves were spoil'd by the manner of doing them, as some things bad were mended by it ; but he would confess this was a thing so good in itself, that the Manner of doing it could not spoil it.

Within two or three days the Marriage was consummated, and immediately after they fell into the Debates upon the Terms of the Peace ; to which, as to that of the Match, none but my Lord Treasurer and I were admitted. The Prince insisted hard upon the Strength and Enlargement of a Frontier on both Sides of *Flanders* ; without which, *France*, he said, would end this War with the View of beginning another, and carrying *Flanders* in one Campaign. The King was content to leave that Business a little looser ; upon the Confidence that *France* was so weary of this War, that if they could get out of it with Honour, they would never begin another in this Reign ; That the King grew past his Youth, and Lazy, and would turn to the Pleasures of the Court, and Building, and leave his Neighbours in Quiet. The Prince thought *France* would not make a Peace now, but to break the present Confederacy, and to begin another War with more Advantage and surprize ; That their Ambition would never end, till they had all *Flanders* and *Germany* to the *Rhine*, and thereby *Holland* in an absolute Dependance upon them ; which would leave Them in an ill Condition, and Us in no good One ; And that *Christendom* could not be left Safe by the Peace, without such a Frontier as he Propos'd for *Flanders*, and the Restitution of *Lorraine*, as well as what the Emperour had lost in *Alsace*. Upon this I told the King, That in the Course of my Life, I had never observ'd Mens Natures to alter by Age or Fortunes ; but that a good Boy made a good Man ; and a young Coxcomb, an old Fool ; and a young Fripon, an old Knave ; and that quiet Spirits were so, young as well as old, and unquiet Ones would be so old as well as young ; That I believ'd the King of *France* would always have some Bent or other, sometimes War, sometimes Love, sometimes Building ; but that I was of the Prince's Opinion, That he would ever make Peace with a design of a new War, after he had fix'd His Conquest by the last : And the King approv'd what I said. The Points of *Lorraine* and *Alsace* were easily agreed to by the King and Duke ; but they would not hear of the County of *Burgundy*, as what *France* could never be brought to, tho' the Prince insisted

much

each upon it; so as the King imagin'd He was touch'd by the Interest
 of his own Lands in that Country (which are greater and more *Seigniorial*
 than those of the Crown of *Spain* there) and thereupon told him, That
 for his Lands He would charge himself with either his enjoying them as
 safely under *France* as *Spain*; or if he should rather chuse to part with
 them than have that Dependence, He would undertake to get him what
 Price he should himself Value them at. But the Prince answer'd bruskiy
 and generously, That he should not trouble himself nor the Peace about
 that Matter; and that he would be content to lose All his Lands there,
 to get One good Town more for the *Spaniards* upon the Frontier of
Flanders; so all Difficulties began to terminate upon what was esteem'd
 necessary there. This admitted great Debates between the King and
 Prince; one pretending *France* would never be brought to one Scheme,
 and t'other, that *Spain* would never consent to the other. But at the
 last it was agreed, That the Peace should be made upon these Terms,
 All to be restor'd by *France* to the Empire and Emperor that had been
 taken in the War; the Dutchy of *Lorraine* to that Duke; and all on both
 Sides between *France* and *Holland*; and to *Spain* the Towns of *Aeth*,
Charleroy, *Oudenarde*, *Courtray*, *Tourney*, *Conde*, *Valenciennes*, *St. Ghissain*,
 and *Binch*. That the Prince should endeavour to procure the Consent
 of *Spain*, and His Majesty that of *France*; for which purpose he should
 send some Person immediately over with the Proposition, who should
 be instructed to enter into no Reasonings upon it, but demand a posi-
 tive Answer in Two Days, and after that Term immediately return. The
 Question was, who should go? and my Lord Treasurer said, it must be
 He or I, for none else had been acquainted with the Debate of this
 Business. The Prince said, It must be I, for my Lord Treasurer could
 not be spar'd, and it must be some Person upon whose Judgment and
 Truth he could rely, as to the Intencions of that Court. The King
 order'd me to be ready in Two Days, which I was, and the Evening
 before I was to go, meeting His Majesty in the Park, he call'd me to
 him, and, a little out of Countenance, told me, He had been thinking
 of my Journey and Errand, and how unwelcome I should be in *France*
 as well as my Message; and having a Mind to gain the Peace, he was
 unwilling to anger them more than needs. Besides, the thing being
 not to be Reason'd or Debated, any Body else would serve the Turn as
 well as I, whom he had other use of; and therefore he had been think-
 ing to send some other Person. I saw he doubted I would take it ill;
 but told him, and very truly, he would do me the greatest Pleasure in
 the World; for I never had less Mind to any Journey in my Life, and
 should not have accepted it, but in perfect Obedience. The King, that
 was the gentlest Prince in the World of his own Nature, fell into good
 Humour upon seeing I took it not ill, pretended to think whom he
 should send, and at last ask'd me what I thought of my Lord *Duras*?
 I said, Verily well: upon which he seem'd to resolve it. But the thing
 had been agreed in the Morning, as I was told, upon the Duke's Desire,
 who thought *France* would accept the Terms, and that the Peace would
 be made, and had a Mind to have the Honour of it, by sending a Ser-
 vant of his own. Whether there were any other Motive, I know not,
 but my Lord *Duras* went immediately with the Orders before mention'd,
 and some few Days after, the Prince and Princess embark'd for *Holland*,
 where Affairs press'd his Return beyond the Hopes of my Lord *Duras*

from *France*; the King assuring him, He would never part from the least Point of the Scheme sent over, and would enter into the War against *France*, if they refus'd it. However, he went not away without a great Mortification, to see the Parliament Prorogued to next Spring; which the *French* Ambassador had gain'd of the King, to make up some good Mien with *France* after the Prince's Marriage, and before the Dispatch of the Terms of a Peace to that Court.

Upon my Lord *Duras's* Arrival at *Paris*, the Court there were Surpriz'd, both at the Thing, and more at the Manner; but made good Mien upon it, took it gently, said, The King knew very well he might always be Master of the Peace; but some of the Towns in *Flanders* seem'd very hard, especially *Tournay*, upon whose Fortifications such vast Treasures had been expended; and that they would take some short time to consider of the Answer. My Lord *Duras* told them, he was ty'd to two Days Stay; but when that was out, he was prevail'd with to stay some few Days longer, and to come away without a positive Answer: What he brought, was what they had said to him before, That the Most Christian King hop'd his Brother would not break with him upon one or two Towns; but even upon them too, he would send Orders to his Ambassador at *London*, to treat with His Majesty himself. By this gain of time, and artificial drawing it into Treaty without any positive refusal, this Blow came to be eluded, which could not easily have been so any other way. The King was softned by the softness of *France*: The Ambassador said at last, He had leave to yield all but *Tournay*, and to treat even for some Equivalent for that too, if the King insisted absolutely upon it. The Prince was gone, who had spirited the Vigour of the whole Resolution; and the Treaty of it began to draw out into Messages and Returns from *France*.

However, the ill Humour of People growing higher, upon the Noise of a Peace, and negotiated in *France*, and the late Prorogation of Parliament, this was by Proclamation anticipated soon after my Lord *Duras's* return'd, tho' a thing something unusual, and a Countenance made, as if the King resolv'd to enter into the War: For which the Parliament seem'd impatient, whenever the King seem'd averse to it; but grew jealous of some Tricks, whenever the Court seem'd inclin'd to it. About the end of *December* 1677, the King sent for me to the Foreign Committee, and told me, he could get no positive Answer from *France*, and therefore resolv'd to send me into *Holland*, to make a League there with the States, for forcing both *France* and *Spain*, if either refused, to make the Peace upon the Terms he had propos'd. I told the King, what he had agreed, was to enter into the War with all the Confederates, in case of no direct and immediate Answer from *France*: That this, perhaps, would satisfy both the Prince and Confederates Abroad, and the People at Home: But to make such a League with *Holland* only, would satisfy none of them, and disoblige both *France* and *Spain*. Besides, it would not have an Effect or Force as the Tripple-Alliance had; that being a great Original; of which this seem'd but an ill Copy; and therefore excus'd my self from going. The King was set upon it tho' I pretended Domestic Affairs of great Importance upon the Death of my Father; and pleaded so hard, that the Duke at last desir'd the King not to press me upon a thing I was so averse from, and would be so inconvenient to me; and desir'd I might propose who should be sent with the Treaty. I made my Acknowledgments to the Duke for his Favour, propos'd, that Mr. *Thynn* should be sent from

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the Office with a Draught of the Treaty to Mr. *Hide*, who was then come from *Nimwegen* to the *Hague*, upon a Visit to the Princess. This was done, and the Treaty sign'd there on the Sixteenth of *January*, tho' not without great Difficulties and Dissatisfaction of the Prince; who was yet cover'd in it by the private Consent of the *Spanish* Minister there, in behalf of his Master; so as the War could not break but upon *France*, in case of their refusal.

In the mean time, *France* draws out the Treaty upon Terms at *London* into Length, never raising more than one Difficulty at a time, and expostulating the Unkindness of breaking for the single Town of *Tournay*, though that was indeed more important than any Three of the others, being the only strong one to guard that Side of the Frontier, and giving way for any sudden Invasion upon *Ghent* and *Antwerp*, and the very Heart of the Country. But while this Game was playing in *England*, they had another on Foot in *Holland*, especially at *Amsterdam*, by raising Jealousies of the Measures taken between the King and Prince upon the Marriage, as dangerous to the Liberties of *Holland*; and making it there believ'd, That by the Match, the King and Duke had drawn over the Prince wholly into their Interests or Sentiments; whereas the Prince went away possess'd to have by it drawn them indeed into his. They propos'd to the *Dutch* other Terms of Peace, far short of the King's, and less safe for *Flanders*, restoring only Six Towns to the *Spaniards*, and mentioning *Lorrain* but ambiguously; which wou'd not have gone down in *Holland*, but for the Suspicions rais'd by the Prince's Marriage among the People there, who had an incurable Jealousie of our Court, and thereupon not that Confidence of the Prince that he deserv'd.

There were two ruling Burgomasters at *Amsterdam* at this time, who had the whole Sway of that Town, (*Hoefi* and *Valkenier*; The First, a generous, honest Man, of great Patrimonial Riches, Learning, Wit, Humour, without Ambition, having always refus'd all Employments the State had offer'd him, and serving only in that of Burgomaster of his Town in his Turn, and as little busie in it as he cou'd; a true Genius. and that said two Things to me in Conversation I had not heard before; One, That a Man who were to die to Morrow in Torment, wou'd yet enjoy to Day, if he were *Sain*, [*Sound*] and that it was some Disease, or Decay of Spirits, that hinder'd it. The other, That a Man was a *Coyon*, [*A sorry Wight*] who desir'd to live after Threescore; and that for his Part, after that Age, which he was then approaching, he shou'd be glad of the first good Occasion to die: And this he made good, dying with Neglect upon a Fit of the Gout, talking with his Friends till he was just spent, then sending them away, that he might not die in their sight; and when he found himself come a little again, sending for them up, and telling them, *Qu'ily avoit encore pour une demy heure de Conversation*. [*That he had Life still for one half Hours Conversation*.] This was the Character of Monsieur *Hoefi*, who was a great Inclination of mine, tho' he pass'd for a humorous Man; and told me, I was the only Ambassador he had ever visited in his Life. He had all the Credit that cou'd be in his Town, without seeking, or minding, or using it; whereas *Valkenier* sought and courted it all that cou'd be, without having half the others; being a more rose and formal Man, but of great Industry, much Thought, and, as was believ'd, Avarice, and making the Turns easily, that were necessary in the Government, to carry his Ends. These two had long been Ege-

mies,

Inter, and thought irreconcilable, till the *French* Instruments at this time, with great Art and Industry, made up the Quarrel, and join'd them both in the Design of making the Peace upon the Terms offer'd by *France*.

The Parliament meets in *January* by Anticipation of the Session, which seem'd to import something of great Consequence. The King acquaints them with the League he had made in *Holland*, and asks them Money upon it, for putting himself in a Posture to carry on the War, if the Peace fail'd; which the Parliament gave him, upon the Hopes of the War, and not of the Peace. The Constitution of this Parliament, that had sat Seventeen Years, was grown into two known Factions, which were call'd, That of Court and Country: The Court Party were grown numerous, by a Practice introduc'd by my Lord *Clifford*, of downright buying off one Man after another, as they cou'd make the Bargain. The Country Party were something greater yet in Number, and kept in more Credit upon the Corruption of others, and their own Pretence of Steddivness to the true Interest of the Nation, especially in the Points of *France*, and Popery. Where these came in Question, many of the Court Party voted with those of the Country, who then carried all before them; but whenever the Court seem'd to fall in with the true Interests of the Nation, especially in those two Points, then many of the Country Party, meaning fairly, fell in with the Court, and carry'd the Votes; as they now did, upon the King's Pretence to grow bold with *France*, and to resolve upon the War, if the Peace were refus'd.

In *October*, *Friburg* had been taken by a Feinte of the Duke of *Crequi*, before the Duke of *Lorrain* cou'd come to relieve it; and in the same Month *Stein* had been taken by the Elector of *Brandenburg*, after a vigorous Resistance: Which left the Scales as even as they were before between the two Leagues.

In *January*, upon the Delays of *France*, to agree the King's Conditions of a Peace, His Majesty enter'd into a Negotiation with the Ministers of the Confederates at *London*, in case *France* went on to refuse them. But the hopes of a Peace were on a sudden dash'd by the *French* Attempts upon *Ipres*, and Threats of *Ostend*, whither the King immediately sends Forces over, at the Desire of the *Spanish* Ambassador, for Security of that important Place. Nor did the *French* Ambassador seem to resent at all this Pace of His Majesty, but continu'd his Court and Treaty with all the Fairness that cou'd be.

Towards the end of *February*, the King of *France* marching in the Head of his Army, and carrying the Queen and Ladies to *Metz*, seem'd to threaten *Luxembourg* or *Namur*, or *Mons*: But having drawn the *Spanish* Forces that way, on a sudden crosses the Country, lies down before *Ghent*, and by the end of the Month, takes both that Town and *Ipres*, and thereby gives a mighty Alarm to *Holland*, and strengthens the Credit and Endeavours of those he had already dispos'd to his Terms of a Peace, as grown now absolutely necessary; while *England* seem'd resolv'd to go into the War, or at least furnish'd the Confederates with many such Hopes. About the First of *April*, *France* made a publick Declaration of the Terms upon which they were resolv'd to make the Peace; which, though very different from those agreed between His Majesty and *Holland*, and more from the Pretensions of the Allies; yet having, as to what concern'd *Spain* and *Holland*, been first privately agreed with some Leaders of the principal

principal Towns, prov'd indeed the Plan of the Peace both for *Holland* and all the other Confederates engag'd in the War. And here the *French* began that imperious way of treating, which they afterwards pursu'd in the whole Negotiation of the ensuing Peace; declaring such and such were the Conditions they wou'd admit, and no other, and upon which their Enemies might chuse either Peace or War, as they pleas'd; and to which *France* pretended not to be ty'd longer than to the Tenth of *May*, after which they wou'd be at Liberty to change or restrain them as they shou'd think fit.

About this time, I happen'd to be with Lord Treasurer one Eveing in his Closet, when a Packet came to him from Mr. *Montagu*, Ambassador at *Paris*, giving him an Account of a large Conference Monsieur *De Louvois* had lately had with him, by the King his Master's Order; wherein he represented the Measures they had already taken for a Peace in *Holland* upon the *French* Terms: That since they were agreed there, they hop'd His Majesty wou'd not be against it: That however, *France* had order'd him to make His Majesty the Offer of a great Sum of Money for his Consent, tho' to a thing already accepted by *Holland*, and wherein His Majesty was consequently not concern'd: That Monsieur *De Louvois* desir'd the Ambassador to write this immediately to Lord Treasurer, and to offer him a very considerable Sum for himself, that shou'd be sent over in Money, Jewels, or by Bills, as he shou'd chuse: And Mr. *Montagu* added, That it was desir'd this Affair shou'd be treated only between them two, and not communicated to either of the Secretaries of State. My Lord Treasurer read the Letter to me, and I said, Well, my Lord, What do you say to the Offer? He answer'd, That he thought 'twas the same thing, as if it shou'd be made to the King, to have *Windsor* put into the *French* Hands, and so he shou'd treat it; and that we had nothing to do but to go on with our Treaty with the Confederates. This his Lordship and I were charg'd with, and had brought near a Conclusion, when his Letters came from Mr. *Hide*, with Representations made him from the Pensioner at the *Hague*, of the Dispositions in *Holland* running violently into a Peace, and the absolute Necessity he thought there was of concluding it, upon the taking of *Ghent*, and Danger of *Antwerp*, which was then threaten'd, and the Loss whereof wou'd be so fatal to the Trade of *Holland*, especially *Amsterdam*. Hereupon Mr. *Godolphin* was dispatch'd immediately into *Holland*, to bring the last and surest Account he cou'd get of the Resolutions there upon this Affair, and return with the greatest Speed he cou'd. He did so, and brought the same Account of all Dispositions which Mr. *Hide* had given; and in the Process of our Treaty with the Confederates, Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, when he came to the Point, was forc'd to confess, That he had no Powers to conclude, without first communicating to the States, which must draw into Length and Uncertainty.

About this time the *French* Ambassador began to change his Language, who had ever before pretended, That His Majesty shou'd be always Arbitrator of the Peace: But now, assuring that his Master had agreed with *Holland*, he seem'd to wonder and expostulate why the King shou'd pretend to obtain better Terms for the *Spaniards*, than their Allies the *Dutch* were content with.

I was then press'd by the King and Lord Treasurer, to go into *Holland*, to know their final Resolutions, whether they wou'd yet go on with

with the War in Case His Majesty shou'd go into it? But I excus'd my self, knowing the *Dutch* were too much press'd by so near Approaches of France, to declare themselves upon a Reserve of the King's; and said, if His Majesty resolv'd to go that way, he must first take his Measures with the Parliament for the War, and then send them Word in *Holland*. He was ready to declare it in Case they wou'd pursue it: And upon this Message, I knew the *Dutch* so well as to believe they wou'd do it, and keep close to their late Alliance with His Majesty. This the King was unwilling to do, but posted Mr. *Godolphin* again into *Holland*, about the middle of *April*, to know their final Resolutions; and prorogu'd the Parliament for Fourteen Days.

During these Negotiations, and since the Money given by the Parliament, and in Six Weeks time, the King had rais'd an Army of about Twenty Thousand Men, the compleatest, and in all Appearance, the bravest Troops that cou'd be any where seen; and might have rais'd many more, upon so great a Concurrence of the People's Humour with His Majesty's seeming Design of entring into a War against France: And it was confest by all the foreign Ministers, That no King in *Christendom* cou'd have made and compleated such a Levy as this appear'd, in such a Time.

My Lord Treasurer, upon the Twentieth, came to me, and assur'd me of the King's Resolution being at length fix'd to go into the War: and desir'd me to prepare what the King was to say to the Parliament upon this Occasion, which I did. When I carry'd it to my Lord Treasurer, I met there Letters from Mr. *Hide* and Mr. *Godolphin*, that *Holland* absolutely desir'd the Peace, even upon the Terms propos'd by France; and had resolv'd to send Monsieur *Van Lewen* over hither, to dispose the King to be contented with them. He arriv'd, and the King sent me immediately to him, to know his Errand. He was the Chief of the Town of *Leyden*, and had joyn'd with *Amsterdam*, *Haerlem*, *Delft*, and some others, in promoting the Peace, even upon the French Conditions: But being a Man of great Honour and Worth, and having done it upon the Suspicion that *England* was still at Bottom in with France, and that all the rest was but Grimace; the Prince had procur'd him to be sent over, on Purpose to satisfy himself (and thereby his Complices for the Peace) that the King's Intentions were determin'd to enter into the War, which his Highness thought the only Means to prevent the Peace.

When I came to Monsieur *Van Lewen*, he told me freely, That it was the most against their Hearts in *Holland* that cou'd be, to make a Peace upon Terms so low and unsafe for *Flanders*; and that if the King had gone into the War, as was promis'd, upon France delaying, or refusing to accept his Scheme, they wou'd certainly have continu'd it: But His Majesty's Proceedings look'd ever since so uncertain or unresolv'd, that it had rais'd Jealousies in *Holland*, of our Measures being at Bottom fix'd close with France; which made most of the Towns in *Holland* think they had nothing else left to do, but to go in with them too as fast as they cou'd, and the Approach of the French Army to *Amster* left them now no Time to deliberate: Yet he profess'd to me in private, That if the King wou'd immediately declare the War, he believ'd the States wou'd still go on with it, in pursuit of their Alliance and the Terms thereto contain'd.

I made this Report to the King, who seem'd positive to declare the War, in case the Parliament shou'd bin, and promised to support it; when an unlucky peevish Voice, mov'd by Sir *T. Digges* in spight to my Lord Treasurer, pass'd the House of Commons, *That no Money should be given, till Satisfaction was receiv'd to Matters of Religion.* This left all so loose, and so lame, that the King was in a Rage, reproach'd me with my Popular Notions, as he term'd them; and ask'd me when, or how, I thought he cou'd trust the House of Commons to carry him through the War, if he shou'd engage in it? And I had not much indeed to say, considering the Temper and Factions of the House; nor cou'd I well clear it to my self, by my Observation, whether the King was firmly resolv'd to enter into the War; or if he did, whether the House of Commons wou'd have supported him in it, or turn'd it only to ruine the Ministers by the King's Necessities. 'Tis certain, no Vote cou'd ever have pass'd more unhappily, nor in such a Counter-Season, nor more cross to the Humour of the House, which seem'd generally bent upon engaging His Majesty in the War; and the Person that mov'd it was, I believe, himself as much of that Mind as any of the rest; but hating since the Loss of his Employment at Court, ever affect'd a Part of great Animosity in Opposition to the present Ministry, in whose Hands (ever it was, this private ill Humour carry'd him contrary to his publick Intentions, as it did many more in the House, who pretended to be very willing to supply the King upon Occasion of the War, or even of his Debts, but that they wou'd not do it during my Lord Treasurer's Ministry. In short, there was such a fatal and mutual Distrust both in the Court and Parliament, as it was very hard to fall into any sound Measures between them. The King, at least, now saw he had lost his Time of entring into the War, if he had a mind to it; and that he ought to have done it (upon my Lord *Dunham's* Return, and) with the whole Confederacy. And my Lord *Effingham* told me, I had been a Prophet, in refusing to go into *Holland* to make that Alliance, which had, as I said, pleas'd none at Home, or Abroad, and had now lost all our Measures in *Holland*, and turn'd theirs upon *France*.

But the Turn that the King gave all this, was, That since the *Dutch* wou'd have a Peace upon the *French* Terms, and *France* offer'd Money for his Consent to what he cou'd not help, he did not know why he shou'd not get the Money; and thereupon order'd me to treat upon it with the *French* Ambassador, who had Orders to that Purpose. I wou'd have excus'd my self; but he said, I cou'd not help seeing him, for he wou'd be with me at my House by Seven next Morning: He accordingly came, and I told him very truly, I had been ill in the Night, and cou'd not enter into Business. The Ambassador was much disappointed, and press'd me, all he cou'd, but I defended my self upon my Illness, till at length he left me without entring upon any thing. When I got up, I went immediately to *Seven*, writ to my Lord Treasurer by my Wife, *May* the 10th. 1678, how much I was unsatisfy'd with being put upon such a Treaty with the *French* Ambassador, that belong'd not at all to my Post, and which they knew I thought dishonourable to the King; and thereupon I offer'd to resign to His Majesty both my Ambassy at *Almequien*, and my Promise of Secretary of State's Place, to be dispos'd of by His Majesty as he pleas'd. My Lord Treasurer sent me Word, The King forc'd no Man upon what he had no mind to: but if I resolv'd this shou'd be said to him,

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which was not only a great loss to the Court, but also a great loss to the Kingdom. The King, however, was not discouraged, and continued to seek out the most able men of the time, from the beginning of May, the 11th of the month of the House of Commons began to break out, by several Discourses and Votes, against the Ministers and their Conduct, which incited the King's Opinion. His Majesty had conceiv'd of their Intensions in writing him to enter into a State, notwithstanding all this, he had said, I was told by a good Hand conceiv'd such an indignation at one Article of the private Treaty propos'd by Monsieur de Waller, that he said, he would never forget it while he liv'd; and tho' he said, nothing to me of his Repentment, yet he seem'd at this time more resolv'd to enter into the War, than he had ever before seen or thought him.

Monsieur de Saligny the Son, was dispatcht into France, to know the late Intensions of that Court, upon the Terms of the Peace propos'd by the Ministry, but brought no Answer, clear or positive; so that His Majesty went on so compleac'd his Levies, and to prepare for the War; but the 11th of November the House of Commons pass'd another Negative upon the Debate of Money; which so offended the King, that he Prorogued them for ten Days, expecting in that time his Intensions to enter into the War, would appear so clear, as to satisfy the House, and put them in better Humour. Monsieur Van Lerwen dissatisfied with these Delays, and the Contention between King and Parliament, began to discover the boldness of his secretly his Masters intend to make the Peace as they could, since there was no staying upon any Measures with England, for carrying on the War, and this Session was too far advanced to admit any longer Debate upon these Discourses from him. His Majesty began to cool his former War, and to say, The Peace must be left to the Court which had given it; and tho' upon May the Twenty, third the Parliament met, and seem'd in much better Temper than they part'd, yet News coming about that same time, that Monsieur Van Lerwen was sent by the States to the French Court at Ghent, to propose a Cession of Arms, for six Weeks, in order to negotiate and agree the Terms of the Peace, in this time, the Affairs began now to be look'd upon, both in Court and Parliament, as being concluded, or at least as like to receive no other Motion than what should be given it, by England and France. And the old and Disposition were inclin'd to it on both sides, that the Terms were not so much between them. These Articles having been published, I shall not trouble my self to repeat them, but only say, they seem'd so hard, both to France, and to the other Princes, who had made great Contributions upon the Swedes, Germany, and declared they would never accept them; and when the French Ambassadors at Amsterdam desired Sir Ethel Yantins to carry them to the Confederates, he refus'd to do it, or to have put any Terms or Conditions of Peace, so different from what the King his Master had propos'd, and what both His Majesty and England had oblig'd themselves to pursue by their late Treaty at the Hague.

About this time, France, by an Admiral very surprising, having sent Monsieur de La Houllaye to Malaga, with a command Expectation of reinforcing the War in Sicily, show'd the Intension was very different, and of a sudden order'd all their Forces to abandon that Island, with whom many Messages return'd, fearing the Vengeance of the Spaniards, to whom

when they were now expos'd: And this was the only important Ser-vice that had been by all the Ministry's Endeavours, and Preparations to make them, for the War declared, that the Government of France, which wholly being to the Advantage in France, or of what was thought when they thought would give them, but too much Occasion for Imposition of their Forces. And indeed, the Eyes and Ears of all the Confederates were now turn'd to wholly upon England for any Reinforcement to their Affairs; after which had deferred them, as they thought, by the last precipitate Terms of a Peace, that many of the chief Ministers were first of all, and went into England, where they thought the whole Scene of that Affairs was lay; among whom was Count *Palatine*, the *Duke* and *Count*, and *Lord*, *Montmorency*, *Orléans*, the *Count*, with the *Excellency* of *Brillatour*'s Envoy, and several others.

However, the Negotiation continued there, between the *French* Ambassadors and *Monsieur Van Breda*, till he was sent to the French Camp, where he concluded the Terms of the Peace towards the end of *July*, and a *Commission* from all *Hollanders* in *Flanders* for six Weeks, which was given to the *Dutch* to endeavour the *Execution* of entering into the Peace upon the Terms they had proposed for them. And in the whole Course of this Negotiation, *France* seem'd to have no Regard, but for *Holland*, and for their Safety, that the most Christian King assur'd the States, that the *Dutch* should not agree, yet he had such Care of their Satisfaction, that he would always provide such a Barriere in *Flanders* should be left, as they thought necessary for their Safety; and that after the Peace should be made, and the ancient Amity renew'd, he would be ready to entertain such engagements and Measures with them, as should for ever secure their Repose and their Liberty.

This was by all interpreted an inviolable Word, but in on purpose to enable the Enemies of the Prince, who ever presented the Ambassadors, his Majesty more Authority than they deny'd, and thereby kept a popular Party in the State, the Chief of whom had been the chief Promoters of the present Peace. And indeed, the Prince was not at all desirous to be the Advocate of opposing it, but all that was possible and agreeable to the Form of the State, yet all the while the Humour of young Men in *Paris*, and from thence into the other Provinces, that it was no longer to be opposed or diverted by the Prince.

In the mean time, *England* was grown pretty indifferent in the Matter of the Peace, and yet seem'd very inclin'd to accept their part of it, but the *Hollanders*, the *Count*, and *Electors* of *Brandenburg*, fell into the highest Declarations and Reproaches against the States, that could be well invented, saying up all they had ventur'd and suffer'd in a War they had begun only for the preservation of *Holland*; how they were now abandon'd by them, in pretending to conclude Imperious and arbitrary Terms of a Peace upon them without their Consent. That they were willing to treat with Peace, and make a Peace upon any fair and reasonable Conditions; but would never endure to have them impos'd as from a Conqueror; and would venture all rather than accept them, especially those for the *Duke of Lorraine*, whose Case was the worst treated, tho' the most favour'd in appearance, by all the Confederates, and the least consider'd by *France*.

1200. The French and the Dutch, who were
 little more, and had no other end, in view, than the Satis-
 faction of any, under Spain in what concerned the Safety of *Flanders*;
 and the Necessity of that Crown made them easy, that as little con-
 tracted as the war; - Since the Peace was upon the point of signing by
 the French and Dutch Ambassadors; when an unexpected Incident fell
 in, which had like to have overturn'd this whole Fabrick, and to have
 renew'd the War with greater Heat, and more equal Forces, by en-
 gaging England to a Support of it in favour of the Confederates, which
 they had been long pursuing without Success, and now without Hopes.

In the Conditions which *Spain* had made for the French restoring the
 six Towns in *Flanders* to *Spain*, there was no particular mention made
 of the Time of that Restitution; the Dutch understanding, as well as the
Spaniards, That it was to be upon the Ratification of the Peace with
Spain and *Holland*, whether any of the other Allies on each side were
 included or not. But when the Dutch Treaty was near signing, the
Marquis De Balbazar either found or made some occasion of enquiring
 more particularly of the French Intentions upon this Point. The French
 Ambassadors made no difficulty of declaring, That the King, their
 Master, being obliged to see an entire Restitution made to the *Swedes*
 of all they had lost in the War, could not evacuate the Towns in *Flan-
 ders* till those of the *Swedes* were likewise restor'd; and that this deten-
 tion of Places, was the only means to induce the Princes of the North to
 accept of the Peace.

1201. Monsieur Van Bevering gave Account to his Masters of this new pre-
 tender, and the States order'd him to let the French Ambassadors know,
 he could not sign the Peace without the Restitution of the Places in
Flanders upon the Ratification of the Treaty. The French Ambassadors
 were on the other side, and said, Their Orders were positive to insist
 upon the Restitution of *Sweden*. The States hereupon sent to Monsieur
Van Loon to acquaint his Majesty with this unexpected Incident, and to
 know his Opinion and Resolution upon a point of so great Moment to
 the Peace of *Christendom* on the one side, and to the Safety of *Spain*
 on the other. The King was difficult at first to believe it; but sending
 to the French Ambassadors in *London* to know the Truth of it, and finding
 him own his Master's intention not to evacuate the Towns till the Gene-
 ral Peace was concluded, and *Sweden* restor'd. He was both surpris'd
 and angry at this proceeding of France; and next Morning sent for me
 to the Foreign Committee, and there declar'd his Resolution of sending
 me immediately into *Spain* with Commission to sign a Treaty with the
 States, by which they should be oblig'd to carry on the War, and His
 Majesty to enter into it, in case France should not consent, within a cer-
 tain time limited, to evacuate the Towns. The Duke fell into this
 Council with great warmth, and said at the Committee, That it was
 plain by this pace, that France was not sincere in the Business of the
 Peace; That they aim'd at the Universal Monarchy; and that none but
 His Majesty could hinder them from it, in the posture that *Christendom*
 stood. All the Lords of the Committee agreed, with so general a con-
 currence, that it was hard to imagine this should not prove a Reddy
 Rascal, how little soever we had been given to any such. His Ma-
 jesty took the pains to press Van Loon to go over with me, to per-
 swade the States of the sincerity and constancy of his Resolution to
 pursue

peruse this Measure with the utmost of his Power; and took upon himself to excuse to the States his Masters, the making this Journey without their consent.

Upon this Dispatch, Mr. *Gedolphin*, who had been so lately in *Holland*, told me, That if I brought the States to the Treaty His Majesty propos'd upon this occasion, he would move the Parliament to have my Statute set up; the Success whereof may deserve a further Remark in its due Place.

Monsieur *Van Lewen* and I went over in July 1678, in two several Yachts; but met soon at the *Hague*, where upon my first Conference with the Commissioners of Secret Affairs, one of them made me the handsomest Dutch Compliment I had met with, That they esteem'd my coming into *Holland*, like that of the *Smallow*, which brought fair Weather always with it.

The Prince receiv'd me with the greatest joy in the World; hoping by my Errand, and the Success of it, either to continue the War, or recover such Conditions of Peace for his Allies, as had been wrested out of his hands by force of a Faction begun at *Amsterdam*, and spread since into the rest of the Provinces.

To make way for this Negotiation, I concerted with Monsieur *Van Lewen* to dine at his Country-house, with Monsieur *Hofst* of *Amsterdam*, *Van Tiel* of *Haerlem*, *Patz* of *Rotterdam*, and two or three more of the Chief Burgomasters who had promoted the Peace, or rather precipitated it, upon the French Conditions. After Dinner, we enter'd into long Conferences, in which Monsieur *Van Lewen* assur'd them with great confidence of the King's sincerity in the resolutions he had taken, and seconded very effectually all I had to say upon that Subject; which had the more credit from one who had gone as far as any of them in pursuit and acceptance of the Peace.

The Prince was impatient to know what had pass'd in this Meeting, which made me go to him that evening; and I told him, what I was very confident to have found, That Monsieur *Patz* was incurable, and not otherwise to be dealt with; but that all the rest were good and well-meaning persons to their Country, abused first by Jealousies of His Highness's Match in *England*, by apprehensions of our Court being wholly in the Measures of *France*, and by the plausible Offers of *France* towards such a Peace as they could desire for themselves. That they were something enlightened by the late refusal of delivering up the Spanish Towns till the Satisfaction of *Sweden*; and would, I doubted not, awaken their several Towns, so as to make them receive favourably His Majesty's Proposition upon this Conjunction. It happen'd accordingly; for Monsieur *Hofst* proposing at *Amsterdam* to make a tryal and Judgment of the sincerity of *France* upon the whole proceeding of the Peace, by their evacuating the Spanish Towns, and without it to continue the War, he carried his Point there, in spite of *Valkenier*; and the same follow'd in all the rest of the Towns: So that when I fell into this Negotiation, I concluded the Treaty in six days; by which *France* was oblig'd to declare within fourteen after the date thereof, That they would evacuate the Spanish Towns; or, in case of their refusal, *Holland* was engag'd to go on with the War, and *England* immediately to declare it against *France*, in conjunction with *Holland* and the rest of the Confederates.

It is hardly to be imagin'd what a new life this gave to the Authority and Fortunes of the Prince of Orange, who had been oblig'd by the States to have made a truer judgment than they gave, of the measures they were to expect both from France and England; the last having promised to comply to the offers of entering into the War, which was never believ'd in England; and France, after raising so important a difficulty in the Peace, having proceeded in the War to the last in blockading the one of the best Frontiers remaining to Flanders, which was expected to fall into their Hands, before the Term fix'd for the conclusion of the Peace should expire.

Preparations were made with the greatest vigour imaginable for his Highness's Expedition to relieve *Mons*; and about Ten Thousand Men already arriv'd in Flanders, were order'd to march that way and join the Prince. He went into the Field, with a firm belief that the War would certainly go on, since France seem'd too far engag'd in Honour to yield the Evacuation of the Towns; and tho' they should, yet Spain could not be ready to Agree and Sign the Peace within the Term limited. And he thought that he left the States resolv'd not to conclude otherwise than in conjunction with that Crown. And besides, he hop'd to engage the French Army before the Term for Signing the Peace should expire; and resolv'd to relieve *Mons*, at any in the attempt, whether the Peace succeeded or not; so as the continuance of the War seem'd inevitable. But no Man, since *Shalott*, ever enough consider'd how subject all things are to Time and Chance, nor how poor Divines the wisest Men are of future Events, how plainly soever all things may seem laid towards the producing them; nor also how small accidents the greatest Councils and Revolutions turn, which was never more prov'd than by the course and event of this Affair.

After the Treaty concluded and signed to *France*, all the Arts that could be, were on that side employ'd to elude it. By drawing this matter into Treaty, or into greater length, which had succeeded so well in England. They offer'd to treat upon it at *Amsterdam*, then a City where the King himself would meet such Ambassadors as the Dutch should send to either of those Towns. But the States were not to recede from their late Treaty concluded with His Majesty, and continued till about Five days before the Term was to expire. Then arriv'd from England one *De Gue* formerly a French Monk, who some time since had left his Frock for a Petticoat, and introduced himself in far in the Swedish Court, as to procure a Commission, or Credence at least for a certain petty Agency in England. He had devoted himself wholly to Monsieur *Barillon* the French Ambassador, who was tending to pursue the Interests of Sweden. About a Week after, I had sent a Secretary into England with the Treaty sign'd. This Man brought me a Packet from Court, Commanding me to go immediately away to *Nimwegen*; and there to endeavour all I could (and from His Majesty) to persuade the Swedish Ambassadors to be the Easier there know, that they would, for the good of Christendom, consent, and even desire the King of France, no longer to press the Evacuation of the Towns, and consequently the Peace, upon the Interest and Intest of the Crown of Sweden. I was likewise Commanded to assure the said Ambassadors, that after this Peace His Majesty would use all the most effectual Endeavours

yours

what he could, for redemption of the Towns and Countries the *Swedes* had lost in the War.

It was not easie for any Man to be more surpriz'd than I was by this Dispatch; but the Pensioner *Fagel* was stunn'd, who came and told me the whole Contents of it, before I had mention'd it to any Man; and that *De Cro* had gone about most industriously to the Deputies of the several Towns, and acquainted them with it; and that the Terms of the Peace were absolutely consented, and agreed between the Two Kings; that he had brought me Orders to go straight to *Nimeguen*; and that I should, at my Arrival there, meet with Letters from my Lord *Sunderland*, the King's Ambassador at *Paris*, with all the Particulars concluded between them.

How this Dispatch by *De Cro* was gain'd, or by whom, I will not pretend to determine. But upon my next Return from *England*, the Duke told me, that he knew nothing of it till it was gone, having been a Hunting that Morning: My Lord Treasurer said all that cou'd be to excuse himself of it; and I never talk'd of it to Secretary *Williamson*; but the King indeed told me pleasantly, *That the Rogue De Cro had deceived them all*. The Account I met with at Court was, That these Orders were agreed and dispatch'd one Morning in an Hours time, and in the Dutchess of *Portsmouth's* Chamber, by the Intervention and Pursuit of Monsieur *Berillon*. However it was, and what Endeavours soever were made immediately after, at our Court, to retrieve this Game it never could be done; and this one Incident chang'd the whole Fate of *Christendom*; and with so little seeming Ground for any such Counsel, that before *De Cro's* Arrival at the *Hague*, the *Swedish* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* had made the very same Declaration and Instances to the *French* Ambassadors there, that I was posted away from the *Hague* upon the Pretence of Perswading them to resolve on.

When I arriv'd at *Nimeguen*, there remain'd but three Days of the Term fix'd by the late Treaty between His Majesty and the States, at the *Hague*, either for the *French* assent to the evacuation of the Towns, or for the carrying on of the War in one conjunction of *England* with *Holland*, and consequently the rest of the Confederates. I found all Men there perswaded, that the Peace would not succeed; and indeed all appearances were against it. The *French* Ambassadors had given many Reasons, in a formal sort of Manifesto, to the *Dutch*, why the King, their Master, could not consent to it, without the previous satisfaction of *Sweden*, whose Interests he esteem'd the same with his own; but yet declaring he was willing to receive any Expedients the States should offer in this matter, either by their Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, or such as they should send to His most Christian Majesty at *St. Quentin*, or *Glent*. The *Dutch* gave them an Answer in Writing, declaring, It was a matter no longer entire, since upon the difficulty rais'd about the Evacuation of the Towns, the States, their Masters, had been induc'd to sign a Treaty with *England*, from which they cou'd not recede, nor from the Day therein fix'd for determining the Fate of either Peace or War; and as there was no Time, so there cou'd be no Use of any Deputation to *St. Quentin* or *Glent*, nor any other Expedient, besides the Assent of *France* to evacuate the Towns.

After

After this, the *French* Ambassador had declar'd to the *Dutch*, That they had found the King their Master was resolv'd, at the Desire of the *Swedes*, to retard the Peace no longer upon their Consideration; and would consent to evacuate the Towns, upon Condition the States wou'd send their Deputies to treat upon the Ways of securing the future Satisfaction to *Sweden*, which was by both intended. But the *Dutch* Ambassadors continu'd peremptory, that there cou'd be no Deputation made by their Masters; and that if the Term fix'd by the late Treaty with *England* should elapse, there was no Remedy, but the War must go on. To this the *French* Ambassadors replying, that their Hands were bound up from proceeding further without such a Deputation, the Peace was thereupon esteem'd desperate; and the more so, because at the same time, the Duke of *Luxemburg* press'd *Mons*, and the Marshal *De Schomberg* seem'd to threaten *Cologne*, demanding of them immediate Satisfaction of the Money that had been seiz'd during the Assembly there; and *Brussels* it self grew unquiet upon their finding themselves almost surrounded by *French* Troops: So as the Confederate Ministers thought themselves secure of what they had so much and so long desir'd and aim'd at, which was a long War in Conjunction with *England*; For they neither believ'd *France* wou'd yield a Point they had so long and so publicly contested; nor (if they did) that the *Dutch* wou'd suffer their Ambassadors to sign the Peace without *Spain*; and the time was now too near expiring for agreeing the Terms and Draught of a Treaty between the Two Crowns, which had not yet been in any Kind digested.

In the Midst of these Appearances and Dispositions at *Nimeguen*, came the fatal Day, agreed by the late Treaty at the *Hague*, for determining whether a sudden Peace, or a long War, were to be reckon'd upon in *Christendom*; when, in the Morning early, Monsieur *Boreel*, who had been sent from *Amsterdam* to the *Dutch* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, went to the *French* Ambassador, and after some Conference with them, these three Ambassadors went immediately to those of *Holland*, and declar'd to them, they had receiv'd Orders to consent to the Evacuation of the Towns, and thereupon to sign the Peace, but that it must be done that very Morning. Whether the *Dutch* were surpriz'd or not, they seem'd to be so; and entring into Debate upon several of the Articles, as well as upon the Interests of *Spain*, this Conference lasted near five Hours; but ended in agreement upon all the Points, both of Peace and Commerce, between *France* and *Holland*, and Orders for writing all fast with the greatest Hastie that was possible, so as the Treaty might be sign'd that Night.

About Four in the Afternoon, the *French* Ambassadors, having demanded an Hour of me and Sir *Lionel*, came to us at my House, gave us an Account of their Agreement with the *Dutch* Ambassadors upon all Points in Difference between them, and of the Treaty's being so order'd, as that it shou'd be sign'd that Evening; and made us the Offer that they wou'd all come and sign it at my House, that so we might have the Part in it that was due to the Mediators.

We answer'd them, That having been sent by His Majesty with Instructions only to mediate a General Peace, we cou'd not by our Orders, assist at the signing of a Particular One; and therefore, desir'd them to excuse us from having any Part in this Conclusion between them and the *Dutch*, either by the signing it at our Houses, or by using our Names as Mediators in the Treaty.

The

The Dutch Ambassadors came to us likewise with the same Commission, and Office, and received the same salary, and I observ'd that the Commissioners upon this night and Golden Toga to be a good deal mis-
satisfied, and something discontented, and not very well agreed between
the two Ambassadors themselves. Monsieur Van Beverning complained of
the Unkindness of our Conduct in England, and the insupportable jealousies
that our Court Journey had rais'd in Holland: That since the King still
desir'd the Peace, his Masters had nothing to do but to conclude it; And
that they, the Ambassadors, took themselves to be so instructed, as that
they might sign the Peace upon the Offer made by the French to evacuate
the Towns. Monsieur Van Beverning did not seem to me so clear in Point of
their Orders; and I never could learn whether upon Dr. Cro's Arrival
and Dismissal at the Hague, the States Deputies there had sent Orders to
their Ambassadors at Amsterdam, to sign the Peace, (even without the
Spanish) in case of the French assenting to the Evacuation of the Towns
before the Day appointed for that Purpose should expire; or whether
only the Town of Amsterdam had by Secret sent that Advice to Monsieur
Van Beverning, with Assurance to bear him out in what he did; where
his Orders might receive a doubtful Sense or Interpretation. However it
was, Monsieur Van Beverning was bent upon giving this sudden End to
the War, and such a quick Dispatch to the Draught of the Treaty, that
it was agreed in all Articles, and written out fair, so as to be sign'd be-
tween Eleven and Twelve at Night. And thus were eluded all the Efforts
of the late Treaty concluded at the Hague, and the hopes conceiv'd
by the Confederates of the War's going on; which so provok'd several
of their Ministers, as to engage them in sharp and violent Protestations
against the Dutch Ambassadors, by which they hop'd to deter them from
signing the Peace without new Orders from their Masters. But all was to
no Purpose, Van Beverning was unmov'd, and the thing was done. am not

The Day after the Peace was sign'd, came an Express to me from
Court, with the Ratification of the late Treaty between His Majesty
and the States, and Orders to me immediately to proceed to the Exchange
of them: Which was such a Counterpane to the Dispatch I had receiv'd
by Dr. Cro, and to the Consequences of it, which had ended in the Con-
clusion of the Peace, and thereby, render'd the late Treaty of no fur-
ther use, that the Ratification seem'd now as unnecessary, as it had been
at first receiv'd at our Court, and unimpeded from us by the Dutch.
However, I went away immediately upon this Express; and next Day af-
ter my Arrival at the Hague, made an Exchange of the Ratifications ac-
cording to the Orders I had receiv'd. 67/11/10 09/1

I found the Parliament and several other of the Deputies very much
unhappy & with the Peace, and much with the Precipitation of Monsieur
Van Beverning, to sign it upon the sudden Offer of the French Ambassa-
dors to evacuate the Towns, and before he had acquainted the States
with it, and receiv'd new Orders upon it. They said his Instructions
could not warrant him; they were of calling him in Question for it, and
of demanding what he thought and dispos'd of having Recourse to
the Treaty with the French, which they now saw ratify'd; and of
declaring the War to be concluded with the French; and the rather because
they had receiv'd no Intelligence of it, but had chosen to keep their
own high Measures they had so long us'd in all Transactions with their
Neighbours, either of War or Peace. But others of the Deputies, espe-
cially

fully that of *Justice*, and their Satisfaction in the Conclusion at *Amoy*; and that the *Princes* of their Confederation, especially *Spain*, and the *Cardinals* or *Legations* of *England*, had made the Peace of absolute Necessity in *Amoy*; and were a supposition of their Ambassadors in signing that Day, or without clear and positive Orders, upon the Emergency being so sudden and surprising, and the time so critical, that the Delay of sending to the *Hague*, and of Necessity have engag'd the States in their Obligations of the late Treaty with *England*, and thereby in a Necessity of continuing the War.

The Truth is, I never observ'd, either in what I had seen or read, any Negotiation manag'd with greater Address and Skill, than this had been by the *French* in the whole Course of the Affairs; especially since the Prince of *Orange's* Match, which was thought to have given them so great a Blow, and by Force of Conduct was turn'd so much to their Advantage. 'Tis certain and plain, they never intended to continue the War, if *England* shou'd fall with such Weight into the Scale of the Confederacy, as the Force of that Kingdom and Humour of the People wou'd have given to such a Conjunction; and consequently, that His Majesty might have prescrib'd what Terms he pleas'd of the Peace, during the whole Course of his Mediation: For besides the Respect which the *French* have for our Troops both Horse and Foot, more than any others; especially since the Services and Advantages they receiv'd from them in all their Actions against the *Germans*; besides, the Terror of a Conjunction between our Naval Forces and the *Dutch*, and of Descents upon their Coasts; with the dangerous Influences that might arise upon the Discontents of their People; they wisely foresaw another Consequence of our falling into this Confederacy, which must unavoidably have prov'd more mortal to them than all the rest, in two Years time. For whereas the Wealth of *France*, which makes their Greatness, arises from the infinite Consumption made by so many neighbouring Countries, and of so many and rich Commodities as the Native Soil and Climate, or Ingenuity of the People, produce in *France*; in case this War had gone on, with *England* engag'd in it, all these Vins of such infinite Treasure had been stop'd at once, or at least left open only to some Parts of *Italy*, which neither takes off their Wines, their Sals, nor their Modes in Habit or Equipage, that draw so vast Expences upon all the Provinces almost of *Europe*, which lie Northward of *France*, and drain such vast Sums of Money from all their Neighboury, into that fruitful and noble Kingdom, more favour'd by Nature, in my Opinion, than any other in the World: But the loss of this Advantage, upon the Necessity, Folly or Luxury of others, must, in two or three Years time, reduce them to such Weakness in those Sinews of War, by so general a Poverty and Misery among their People, that there wou'd need no other Effect of such a general Confederacy, to diminish the Strength and Force of that Nation. This they very prudently foresaw, and never intended to venture, but having Reason to apprehend it from the Prince of *Orange's* Match in *England*, they took it without Remorse; nay, improv'd it rather into new Kindness than Quarrel, making Use of the King's good Nature to engage him in a Persecution of the Parliament immediately after: which must appear, both at Home and Abroad, that they had still the Advantage upon our Count. They chose the Effect of the Message first sent, by my Lord *Pease*, with His Majesty's Scheme of the Peace; by drawing it out into Expectations of

Amsterdam, and so into Treaty. During this Amusement of our Court, they pay'd their Embassy in *Holland*; yet, with greater Art and Industry, poison'd the People there with Jealousies of the Prince's Match in *England*, and of Designs from both upon their Liberties, by a long and unnecessary Continuance of the War. They united the Factions in *Amsterdam* upon the Scent of a Peace, and upon their own Conditions, to avoid those that had been propos'd by His Majesty. When they had gain'd their Point with the several Deputies in *Holland*, they acquainted the King with their being sure of the Peace on that Side; and by his Ambassador at *Paris*, made Offers of mighty Sums both to himself and his chief Minister, only for their Consent to such a Peace as *Holland* it self was content with. When the States had absolutely resolv'd on the Peace, by the particular Faction of *Amsterdam*; and general Terror upon the French taking of *Glent*, and threatening *Arras*, they esteem'd the Humour in *Holland* so violent towards the Peace, and so unsatisfy'd with the Fluctuation of our Councils in *England*, that they thought they might be bold with them upon the Interests of *Spain*, and so rais'd the Pretence of not evacuating the Towns before the Satisfaction of *Sweden*. And tho' I know this was by the Politicians esteem'd a wrong Peace of *France*; yet I did not think it so, but that all Appearances were for their succeeding in it. Nor had they Reason to believe either our Court or *Holland* would have resented it to that Degree they did; or that they cou'd have fallen into such close and sudden Measures, and with such Confidence, as they happen'd to do upon this Occasion by the Treaty of *July* at the *Hague*. When this was concluded, they made all the Offers that cou'd be at breaking the Force of it; by drawing it into Negotiation, and by Condescensions to the States unusual with that Crown even to the greatest Kings. They poison'd it by the Dispatch of *De Cus*, and by his Instructions, as well as Artifices and Industry, to make the Contents of it publick at the *Hague*, which were pretended at Court to be sent over to me with the greatest Secret that cou'd be. At the same time they made all the Declarations of not receding from the Difficulties they had rais'd, otherwise than by Treaty, and thereby laid asleep all Jealousies of the Confederates, as well as Endeavours to prevent a Blow they did not believe cou'd arrive where the Honour of *France* seem'd so far engag'd: And thus they continu'd till the very Day limited for their final Declaration. The Secret was so well kept, that none had the least Umbrage of it that very Morning. When they declar'd it, they left it not the Dutch Ambassadors time enough to send to their Masters; fearing, if they had, the States wou'd have refus'd to sign without *Spain*, which cou'd not be ready before the time must have elaps'd for incurring the Effects of the late Treaty.

Thus the Peace was gain'd with *Holland*. His Majesty was excluded from any fair Pretence of entering into the War, after the vast Expence of raising a great Army, and transporting them into *Flanders*, and after a great Expectation of his People rais'd, and, as they thought, deluded. *Spain* was necessitated to accept the Terms that the Dutch had negotiated for them; and this left the Peace of the Empire wholly at the Mercy and Discretion of *France*, and the Restoration of *Lorraine* (which all had confessed in) wholly abandon'd and unprovided. So that I must again conclude the Conduct of *France* to have been admirable, in the whole Course of this Affair, and the Italian Proverb to continue true, *Che gli ha fatto i Francesi, no morri.* [The French Fools are Dead.] On the contrary, our

[illegible]

11 The United is finish this whole Negotiation, which was near raising
fought a Hre. *France* having made the Peace with *England*, treated a
the fell of it with ease and leisure, as playing a sure Game. *England*,
it avoid a great Convulsion that threatened them at Home, would fain
have gone into the War, if *France* would have been prevail'd with; but
they could not trust as enough, to sell the present Interest of Trade, for
the uncertain Events of a War, wherein they thought their Neighbours
were concern'd than themselves.

About two or three Days after my Return to the Hague, and exchanging the Ratifications, came the News of the Battle of *Mars*, between the Princes of *Orange*, and the *French*, under the Command of the Duke of *Guise*, who had pos'd himself with the Strength and Flower of the *French* Forces, so as to prevent the Prince's Design of Relieving *Mons. And Turenne*, the Day the Peace was sign'd at *Nimwegen*, I was saying to the Marquis de *Beuvron*, That he ought I knew, we might have a Peace first, and a battle fought, both in one Day. He reply'd, There was no Bar of it; for the Duke of *Lorraine* had with him more, he was so pos'd, that if he had but Ten Thousand Men, and the Prince's Party, yet he was sure he would not be lost. I then he took his Army to be stronger than that of the Prince. I need not relate an Action so well known in the World, and so judg'd of by. That in sight of many Disadvantages from an Army drawn so closely together, so badly a Marched out of the Desert, and Possess'd with so much Skill, and especially with so much Industry by the *French*, it was believ'd, the Prince upon the fourteenth of August attack'd them with a Resolution and Vigour that surpris'd them, and after an obstinate and bloody Fight, disorder'd them, that Day the Night prevented the end of the Fight, yet it was generally concluded, That if he had been at liberty last Day to pursue it with over eight thousand English that were ready to join his Army, he must in all appearance not only have reliev'd *Mons.* but

made such an impression into *France* as had been often design'd, but never attempted since the War began; and upon which a *French* Officer professes it still. That he observ'd This the only Heroic Action that had been done in the whole course or progress of it.

But the Morning after the Battle, the Prince receiv'd from the States Advice of the Peace having been sign'd at *Nimwegen*, and thereupon immediately sent a Deputy with the News of it to *Monsieur De Lunenburg*. After Compliments pass'd on both Sides, that Duke desir'd to see the Prince, which was agreed to, and they met in the Field at the Head of their Chief Officers; whereas all pass'd with the Civilities that became the Occasion, and with great curiosity of the *French* to see and crowd about a Young Prince who had made so much noise in the World, and had the day before given life and vigour to such a desperate Action, as all Men esteem'd this Battle of *St. Denis*. Yet many Reflections were made upon it by the Prince's Friends as well as his Enemies: Some said, That he knew the Peace was sign'd before the Fight began; and that it was too great a venture both to Himself and the States, and too great a Sacrifice to his own Honour, since it could be to no other Advantage: Others laid it to the *Marquis De Gram*, who they said had intercepted and conceal'd the States Pacquet to the Prince, which came into the Camp the day before the Battle, (but after it was resolv'd on,) and that he had hopes by such a breach of the Peace, even after it was sign'd, that the progress of it would have been defeated. Whether this were true or not, I could never certainly be inform'd; but so much is, That the Prince could not have ended the War with greater Glory; nor with greater Spight, to see such a mighty Occasion wrested out of his hand, by the sudden and unexpected signing of the Peace, which he had assur'd himself the States would not have consented to without the *Spaniards*. Yet upon the certain News of it, he drew back his Army, return'd to the *Hague*, and left the States to pursue their own paces in order to finishing the Treaty between *France* and *Spain*; wherein the *Dutch* Ambassadors at *Nimwegen* employ'd themselves with great zeal and diligence, and no longer as Parties or Confederates, but as Mediators; whilst *Sir Blenheim*, who continu'd still there in that Figure, declin'd the Function, as in a matter wherein he found our Court would not take any part, nor allow themselves to have had any in the Peace between *France* and *Holland*.

Soon after the Prince's return, he went to *Dieren* to hunt in the *Veluwe*, like a Person that had little else left to do. And I having Occasion to go at the same time to *Amsterdam*, he desir'd me to remember him kindly to *Monsieur Heest* the Chief Burgomaster there, and tell him, That he desired him to be no longer in his Interests, than he should find His Highness in the true Interests of the State. I did so; and *Monsieur Heest* very frankly and generously bid me tell the Prince, he would be just what His Highness desir'd, and be ever firm to his Interests, while he was in those of his Country; but if ever his Highness departed from them, he would be the first Man to oppose him; till then he would neither Censure nor Distrust his Conduct; for he knew very well, without mutual Trust between the Prince and the States, his Country must be ruin'd. From this time to that of his Death, *Monsieur Heest* continued in the same mind, and by his Example that great and jealous Town began to fall into much more Confidence, not only of the Prince,

but

but of his whole Conduct in the Administration of the Affairs of the State.

For the time I stay'd at Amsterdam, I was every day in Conversation with Monsieur *Hofst*, who, besides much Learning, Worth, Sincereness, and Credit in his Town, was a Man of a pleasant natural Humour; which makes, in my Opinion, the most agreeable Conversation of all other Ingredients, and much more than any of those squeezed or forc'd Strains of Wit that are in some places so much in request; tho' I think, commonly the Men that affect them, are themselves much sadder of them than any of the Company.

Dining one day at Monsieur *Hofst*'s, and having a great Cold, I observ'd every time I spit, a tight handson Wench (that stood in the Room with a clean Cloth in her Hand) was presently down to wipe it up, and rub the Board clean: Somebody at Table speaking of my Cold, I said, the most trouble it gave me was to see the poor Wench take so much pains about it: Monsieur *Hofst* told me, 'Twas well I escap'd so; and that if his Wife had been at home, tho' I were an Ambassador, she would have turn'd me out of doors for fouling her House: And laughing at that Humour, said, There were Two Rooms of his House that he never durst come into, and believ'd they were never open but twice a year, to make them clean. I said, I found he was a good Patriot; and not only in the Interests of his Country, but in the Customs of his Town, where that of the Wives governing, was, I heard, a thing establish'd. He replied, 'Twas true, and that all a Man could hope for there, was to have *une douce Patience* [An easy Governess,] and that his Wife was so. Another of the Magistrates at Table, who was a graver Man, said Monsieur *Hofst* was pleasant, but the thing was no more so in their Town, than in any other Places that he knew of. *Hofst* replied very briskly, It was so; and could not be otherwise, for it had long been the custom; and whoever offer'd to break it, would have banded against him, not only all the Women of the Town, but all those Men too that were govern'd by their Wives, which would make too great a Party to be oppos'd. In the afternoon, upon a visit, and occasion of what had been said at Monsieur *Hofst*'s, many Stories were told of the strange and curious Cleanliness so general in that City; and some so extravagant, that my Sister took them for Jest; when the Secretary of Amsterdam, that was of the Company, desiring her to look out of the Window, said, Why, Madam, there is the House where one of our Magistrates going to visit the Mistress of it, and knocking at the Door, a strapping North-Holland Lass came and open'd it; he ask'd, Whether her Mistress was at home? she said, Yes; and with that he offer'd to go in: But the Wench marking his Shoes were not very clean, took him by both Arms threw him upon her back, carry'd him cross two Rooms, set him down at the bottom of the Stairs, pull'd off his Shoes, put him on a pair of Slippers that stood there, and all this without saying a Word; but when she had done, told him, He might go up to her Mistress, who was in her Chamber.

I was very glad to have a little diverted with such Pleasantries as these the Thoughts of that busie Scene, in which I was so deeply engag'd, that I will confess the very remembrance of it, and all the strange surprizing Turns of it, begin to renew those cruel Motions they had rais'd both in my head and Heart, whilst I had so great, and so sensible

a part

a part in them. But to return where I left the Thread of these Affairs.

After the Peace of *Holland* and *France*, the Ministers of the Confederates, especially those of *Denmark* and *Brandenburg*, employ'd their last Efforts to prevent the *Spaniards* agreeing to their part of the Peace, as was expected for them by the *Dutch*. They exclaim'd at their breach of Honour and Interest: That what was left the *Spaniards* in *Flanders* by those Terms, was indefensible, and could serve but to exhaust their Men and Treasures to no purpose: That the Design of *France* was only to break this present Confederacy by these separate Treaties, and so leave the *Spaniards* abandon'd by their Allies upon the next Invasion; which they would have reason to expect, if *Spain* should use them with as little regard of their Honour and Treaties, as the *Dutch* Ambassadors seem'd to design. These themselves, also met with some difficulties in their Mediation, by a Pretension rais'd in *France* upon the Country of *Beaumont* and Town of *Bouvignes*, which they did not find to have been mention'd in what had pass'd between the *French* and *Dutch*, upon the score of *Spain*, before the Peace was sign'd.

All these Circumstances began to make it look uncertain what would at length be determin'd by the States, as to their Ratifications, which were like to be delay'd till *Spain* had concluded their Treaty, though those of *France* had been Dispatch'd so as to arrive at *Nimeguen* the Twenty second of this Month; and Monsieur *D' Avaux* commanded from thence to the *Hague*, in quality of Ambassador Extraordinary to the States: and the *French* Army had retir'd into *France* at the same time the *Dutch* return'd from before *Mons*. So that all seem'd, on the *French* side, resolv'd to pursue the Peace; on the side of the Empire, and Princes of the North, to carry on the War; on the *Spaniards*, very irresolute, whether to accept the Peace the *Dutch* had mediated (for them or not: And in *Holland*, 'twas doubtful, whether to ratifie That their Ambassadors had sign'd, and whether at least before the Treaty of *Spain* should be agreed.

Whilst the minds of Men were busied with different reasonings and pretexts, as well as wishes, upon this Conjunction; About the end of August Mr. *Hild* arriv'd at the *Hague* from *England*, without the least Intimation given me of his Journey, or his Errand; so that I was surpriz'd, both to see him, and to hear the design of such a sudden dispatch.

The Substance of it, was, to acquaint the States how much the King had been surpriz'd at the news of their Ambassadors having sign'd a particular Treaty with *France*, even without the inclusion of *Spain*, and without any Guaranty given for the evacuation of the Towns within the time requisite: To complain of this Precipitation of the States; and at the same time of the new Pretensions that *France* had advanc'd upon the Country of *Beaumont* and the Town of *Bouvignes*, which had retarded the Peace of *Spain*, and hinder'd it from being concluded at the same time with that of *Holland*; which his Majesty understood always to have been the Intention of the States, as well as His own. That for these Reasons he understood, and believ'd, that the late Treaty of *July*, between His Majesty and the States, ought to take effect; the case being fallen out against which that was provided, and both Parties being thereby oblig'd to enter jointly into the War against *France*. That if the States would
here

hereupon refuse to ratify the Treaty their Ministers had sign'd as *Mandemens*, His Majesty offer'd to Declare War immediately against *France*, and carry it on in all points according to the Articles and Obligations of the said Treaty with the States.

Tho' Mr. *Hide* did not know, or did not tell me the true spring of this resolute pace that was made by our Court, so different from all the rest in the whole course of this Affair; yet he assur'd me they were both in earnest and very warm upon the scent, and desir'd nothing so much as to enter immediately and vigorously into the War, in case *Holland* would be persuaded to continue it; and that no time nor endeavour were to be neglected in pursuing the Commission he brought over, which was given jointly to us both, and recommended to me particularly from Court with all the instances and earnestness that could be. When I carried him that very Evening to the Prince at *Boufflaersdyck*, and he acquainted his Highness with the whole extent of his Errand and Instructions; the Prince receiv'd it very coldly, and only advis'd him to give in a memorial to the States, and ask Commissioners to treat, by whom he would find what the mind of the States was like to be upon this Affair, and at which he would at present make no conjecture.

After a short Audience, Mr. *Hide* went to the Princess, and left me alone with the Prince; who as soon as he was gone, lift up his hands two or three times, and said, Was ever any thing so hot and so cold as this Court of yours? Will the King, that is so often at Sea, never learn a Word that I shall never forget since my last passage? When in a great Storm the Captain was all Night crying out to the Man at the Helm, Steddy, Steddy, Steddy? If this Dispatch had come twenty days ago, it had chang'd the Face of Affairs in *Christendom*; and the War might have been carried on till *France* had yielded to the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, and left the World in quiet for the rest of our lives: As it comes now, it will have no effect at all. At least, this is my opinion, tho' I would not say so to Mr. *Hide*.

After this, he ask'd me what I could imagine was at the bottom of this new Heat in our Court; and what could make it break out so *mal à propos* [Unseasonably,] after the dissatisfaction they had express'd upon the late Treaty when it was first sent over, and the Dispatch of *De Cras*, so contrary to the Design of it. I told him very truly, That I was perfectly ignorant of the whole matter, and could give no guess at the Motions of it: And so I continu'd till some Months after, when I was advis'd, That the Business of the Plot, which has since made so much Noise in the World, was just then breaking out; and that the Court, to avoid the Consequences That might arise upon the ill humour of the Parliament, which seem'd to rise chiefly from the Peace His Majesty believ'd to give them the Satisfaction they had so long desir'd, of entering into the War: Which is all the Account I can give of this Counsel or Resolution.

The Event prov'd unfavourable to the *Princes* the *Princes* at first made of it for that the States Deputies from the *States* had several *Deliberations* and Conferences with us, which fill'd all Parties concern'd in the War with different apprehensions, and serv'd to facilitate the Treaty between *France* and *Spain*; yet the Pensioner told me from the first, that was all the use that could be made of it, and that the States were so unpleas'd with our

the whole Council in the business of the Peace, that tho' they would be glad to be as in the War, yet they were resolv'd to have no further part in it, unless France should refuse what they had already promis'd to Spain. However, while this Affair continu'd in agitation during Mr. Hyde's stay at the Hague, all appearances look'd very different from the opinion of the Prince and Pensioner; who alone had so full a grasp of the business in Holland, as to make a true Judgment what the general sentiments there would determine in. Many of the Deputies were so ill satisfied with their Ambassadors having sign'd the Peace, that they inclin'd to His Majesty's Proposals, and framed several Articles against Monsieur Van Beverning's Proceedings, whereof some lay'd mistakes to his Charge; others, the omission of matter absolutely necessary in the Treaty; and others more directly, his having gone beyond his Orders and Instructions, particularly, in having stipulated that the States should give their Guaranty for the Neutrality of Spain. And in this point, I doubt he had nothing to shew from his Masters to cover him. The rest seem'd rather to be rais'd invidiously at his Conduct, in having suddenly concluded an Affair, which they now saw might have had another issue if he had given it more breath; tho', at that time, many of his Accusers expected as little from England as he did, and with reason alike, since none of them could imagine any thing of that new Spring there from which this violent Motion had begun. Whatever Monsieur Van Beverning's Orders or his Proceedings had been, the heats were so high against him at the Hague, that many talk'd, not only of disavowing what he had done, but of forming Protests against him upon it: And tho' in a short stay he made there upon this occasion, he had the Fortune or the Justice to see his Enemies grow calm towards him; yet he was not a little mortified with so ill payment of what he thought had been so good Service to his Country; and after his return to Nimeguen, was observ'd to proceed in the Negotiations there, with more secrecy and caution than was natural to his Temper; and less Scow of partiality to the Peace, than he had made in the whole course of the Treaty.

All the while these matters were in motion at the Hague, the King's Forces were every day transporting into Flanders, as if the War were to be carried on with the greatest certainty and vigour. Which gave opinion and heart to those in Holland that dislike'd the Peace: It rais'd also so great confidence in the Spaniards, that they fell into all the measures they could with the Confederate Ministers at Nimeguen, to form difficulties and delays in the Treaty there, between that Crown and France; upon the security that Holland would not ratify theirs, till that of Spain were concluded; and that in the mean time they might be drawn into the War, by the violent dispositions which now appear'd in England, as well as in the Confederates, to continue it. The Spanish Ambassadors laid hold of all occasions to except against the matter or style of those Articles which Holland had mediated between them and France; they found Difficulties upon the conditions wherein the several Towns to be Evacuated should be restor'd to them, as to the Fortifications that had been made in them by the French, and as to the Artillery and Munitions that were in them at the time when the Dutch had agreed upon those Conditions; they found matter of dispute upon the Territories that belong'd to the several Towns, and especially upon the Chateaux of Aeth, which France had dismember'd since it was in their possession, and had join'd above Threescore Villages to the Chateaux

of *Towney*, which had belong'd to *Arch*, and were with that Town transferr'd by the *Spaniards* to the *French* upon the Peace of *Am la Chapelle*: But the *French* pretending now to restore it, only in the Condition they had left it, and not what they had found it, the *Spaniards* made a mighty clamour both at *London* and the *Hague* upon this Subject, and complain'd of this, among other smaller Matters, as Innovations endeavour'd to be introduc'd by *France*, even beyond what they had themselves propos'd to the *Dutch*, and agreed in *April* last, which had been lay'd and pursued as the very foundation of the Peace.

In this uncertain State all Matters continued at the *Hague* for about three Weeks, the Opinions of most Men running generally against the Peace; as well as the Wagers at *Amsterdam*, by which People often imagine the Pulse of the State is to be felt and judg'd, tho' indeed it be a sort of Trade driven by Men that have little dealing or Success in any other, and is manag'd with more Tricks than the rest seems to be in that Scene; not only Coyning false News upon the Place, but practising Intelligence from remote parts to their Purpose, concerting the same Advices from different Countries, and making great Secret and Mystery of Reports that are rais'd on purpose to be Publick; and yet by such Devices as these, not only the Wagers at *Amsterdam* are commonly turning, but the rising and falling of the very Actions of the *East-India* Company, are often and in a great measure influenc'd.

But *France* thought the Conjunction too important to let it hover long in such Uncertainties; and therefore first dispatch'd a Courier to their Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, with leave to satisfy the States in those Clauses of their Treaty, wherein they seem'd to except justly against Monsieur *Van Beverning's* Conduct, and thereby cover the Credit of that Minister, who had been so affectionate an Instrument in the Progress of the Treaty. Next, they gave them liberty to soften a little of the Rigour they had hitherto exercis'd in the smallest Points contested with the *Spaniards*; and last of all, they dispatch'd an Express to their Ambassadors, with Power to remit all the Differences which obstructed or retarded the conclusion of the Treaty between that Crown and *Spain*, to the Determination and Arbitrage of the States themselves.

This was a Pace of so much Confidence towards the States, and appear'd such a Testimony of the Most Christian King's sincerity in the late Advances he had made towards a Peace, that it had all the Effect design'd by it. The several Towns and Provinces proceeded with a general Concurrence to the Ratifications of the Peace, that they might lie ready in their Ambassadors Hands, to be exchange'd when that of *Spain* should be Sign'd. Monsieur *Van Beverning*, now favour'd with a fair Gale from Home, the Humour of his Country blowing the same way with his own Dispositions, and seconded with the great Facilities that were given by *France*, made such a quick Dispatch of what remain'd in contest upon the Treaty between *France* and *Spain*, that all was perfected and sign'd by the 30th of *September*, and thereupon the *Dutch* Ratifications were exchange'd with the usual Forms. In all this Sir *Li nel Jenkins* had no part, as in an Affair disapprov'd by the King his Master. The *Dutch* Ambassadors play'd the part of formal Mediators; had the Treaty between the two Crowns sign'd at their House; and took great care by the choice and Disposition of the Room where it were perform'd, to avoid all Punctillios about Place, that might arise between the several Ambassadors. Mr. *Hild* had the Mortification

to return into *England*, with the entire disappointment of the Design upon which he came, and believ'd the Court so passionately bent; I was left at the *Hague* without any thing more to do, than to perform the part of a common Ambassador; *France* was left in possession of the Peace with *Holland* and *Spain*, and, by Consequence, Master of that of the Empire and the North, upon their own Terms; and *England* was left to busy it self about a Fire that was breaking out at Home, with so much Smoak, and so much Noise, that as it was hard to discover the Beginning, so it was much harder to foresee the End of it.

After the Peace of *Spain* Sign'd, and of *Holland* Ratify'd, tho' the Ambassadors of the Emperor at *Nimeguen* were sullen, and those of *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* enrag'd, yet, by the Application of the *Dutch* Ambassadors, the Conferences were set on foot between them and the *French*; and Sir *Lionel* receiv'd Orders from Court to return to his Function, tho' the remaining part he had in the Affair, was rather that of a Messenger than a Mediator. The Northern Princes continu'd their Preparations and Marches, as if they resolv'd to pursue the War; but at the same time gave Jealousies to the Emperor of some private Intelligences or Negotiations of separate Treaties set on foot between *France* and *Denmark*, and others between that Crown and *Brandenburg*, by Monsieur *Despense*, an old Servant of the Elector, but Subject of *France*. On the other Side, *France* made great Preparations to attack the Empire, upon the Pretence of forcing them into the Terms they had prescrib'd for the Peace; and thereby gave so great Terror to the Princes of the *Rhine* that lay first expos'd to the Fury of their Arms, that the Electors of *Mentz* and *Trier*, and Duke of *Neuburg*, set away in great Hast to the States, demanding and desiring to be included by them in the Peace they had made, by Virtue of an Article therein, which gave them Liberty within Six Weeks, to declare and include such as they should name for their Allies. But this was oppos'd by *France*, and refus'd to any particular Prince of the Empire, and allow'd only to the Emperor and Empire, if they shou'd jointly desire to be declar'd and included in the Peace, as an Ally of *Holland*. The Duke of *Lorraine* about the same time, seeing the whole Confederacy breaking into so many several Pieces, and every one minding only how to shift the best they cou'd for themselves, accepted his part of the Peace as *France* had carv'd it out for him; and chose the Alternative offer'd from that Crown, by which *Nancy* was to remain to *France*. But the Emperor, tho' he profess'd all the Inclination that cou'd be to see the General Peace restor'd, yet he pretended not to suffer the Terms of it shou'd, like Laws, be impos'd upon him. He consented to the Re-establishment of the Treaties of *Westphalia*, which seem'd to be all that *France* insist'd on; but cou'd not agree to the Passage demanded for their Troops, whenever they found it necessary for the Execution of the said Treaties; and this was insist'd on positively by the *French*. Nor could the *Imperialists* yield to the Dependance pretended by *France*, of the 10 Towns of *Alsace* upon that Crown; which the *French* demanded as so left, or at least intended, by the Treaty of *Munster*, while the Emperor's Ambassadors denied either the Fact, or the Intention of that Treaty.

While these Dispositions, and these Difficulties, delay'd the Treaty of the Emperor, the Ratifications of *Spain* were likewise deserr'd, by Concert, as was suppos'd, between the two Houses of *Austria*; so as the Term agreed for the Exchange of them was quite elaps'd, and twice re-

new'd or prolong'd. by *France* at the Desire of the *Emper.* But during this time, the *French* Troops made Incursions into the richest Parts of *Flanders*, and which had been best cover'd in the time of the War; and there exacted so great Contributions, and made such Ravages where they were disputed, that the *Spanish Netherlands* were more ruin'd between the signing of the Peace, and the Exchange of the Ratifications, than they had been in so much time during the whole Course of the War.

The Outcries and Calamities of their Subjects in *Flanders*, at length mov'd the *Spaniards* out of their slow Pace; but more, the Embroilments of *England* upon the Subject of the Plot, which took up the Minds both of Court and Parliament, and left them little or no Regard for the Course of foreign Affairs. This Prospect made *Holland* the more eager upon urging the Peace to a General Issue; and *France* making a wise Use of so favourable a Conjunction, press'd the Empire not only by the Threats and Preparations of a sudden Invasion, but also by confining their Offers of the Peace to certain Days, and raising much higher Demands, if those shou'd expire before the Emperor's Acceptance.

All these Circumstances, improv'd by the Diligence and Abilities of the *Dutch* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, at length determin'd the House of *Austria*, to run the Ship ashore, whatever came on't, rather than keep out at Sea in so cruel a Storm as they saw falling upon them, and for which they found themselves so unprovided. The *Spanish* Ratifications at length arriv'd; And after the Winter far spent in fruitless Contest by the Imperial Ambassadors, and more fruitless Hopes from *England* by the *Spaniards* and other Confederates, Sir *Lionel Jenkins* gave Notice both to the Court, and to me, that he look'd upon the Treaty between the Emperor and *France* to be as good as concluded; and soon after I receiv'd His Majesty's Commands, to go immediately away from the *Hague* to *Nimeguen*, and there assist as a Mediator at the signing of the Peace, which then appear'd to be General.

I never obey'd the King so unwillingly in my Life; both upon Account of an Errand so unnecessary, and, at best, so merely formal; (which I never had been us'd to in so long a Course of Employments) and likewise upon the Unclemency of the Season, which was never known so great in any Man's Memory, as when I set out from the *Hague*. The Snow was in many Places where I pass'd, near Ten Foot deep, and Ways for my Coach forc'd to be digg'd through it; several Post-boys dy'd upon the Road; and it was ridiculous to see People walk about with long Icicles from their Noses. I pass'd both the *Rhine* and the *Waal*, with both Coaches and Waggons, upon the Ice; and never in my Life suffer'd so much from Weather as in this Journey, in spite of all Provisions I cou'd make against it. The best of it was, that I knew all the Way, It was neither at all material that the Mediators shou'd sign this Branch of the General Peace, having sign'd none of the other; nor that Two shou'd sign it, when One alone had assisted in the Course of this Negotiation since it was renew'd between the Empire and *France*. Besides, I was very confident it wou'd not at last be sign'd by either of us; for I cou'd not be leve. when it came to the Point, the Emperor's Ambassadors shou'd yield what of Precedence to the Mediators, at the Conclusion of the Treaty, which they never consented to do in the whole Course of it. So that I look'd upon the Favour of this Journey, as as afforded me from the particular Good-will of some of my good Friends in the foreign Committee,

taking a Rise from some Instances of Sir *Lionel Jentius*, who was in one of his usual Agonies, for fear of being left in the Way of signing alone a Treaty, which he neither was pleas'd with himself, nor believ'd many People in *England* like to be.

I arriv'd at *Nimwegen* the end of *January* 1678-9, and found all concluded, and ready to Sign, as Sir *Lionel* believ'd; yet the Imperialists made a vigorous Effort in two Conferences, after my Arrival, to gain some Ease in the Points of *Lorraine*, and the Dependance of the Ten Towns in *Alsace*, wherein they thought themselves the most hardly us'd of any others, and in the First, their Masters Honour and Justice most concern'd; so as Count *Kinksh* made a Mien of absolutely breaking, without some Relief upon them. But the *French* Ambassadors knew too well the Force of the Conjunction, and the Necessity laid upon the Emperor by the *Dutch* and *Spanish* Peace, to pass the same Way, or leap out of the Window; and they were too skillful not to make Use of it, or to give any Ground to all the Instances or Threats of the Imperialists. These on t'other Side, durst not venture the Expiration of the last Day given them by *France*, nor the Reserve made in that Case of exacting new and harder Terms. So as the Peace was Sign'd about three Days after my Arrival. The poor Duke of *Lorraine* thought himself press'd with such Hardships upon both the Alternatives, that he could not resolve to accept of either; For in that he had chosen, not only his Duchy was dismember'd of several great Parts wholly cut off, but the rest left at the *French* Discretion; who insist'd upon great Spaces of Ground left them in Propriety, quite cross his Country, for the March of their Armies, whenever they should pretend occasion: So this noble, but unfortunate Prince, was left wholly out of the Treaty, and of his Country; contrary to the direct and repeated Engagements of the Confederates, and the Intentions of His Majesty, as he often declar'd in the whole Course of the Treaty.

When it was ready to Sign, the *French* Ambassadors offer'd to yield the Precedence in Signing it to us as Mediators, which they had done very frankly in the whole Course of this Assembly; but the Imperialists, when it came to the Point, downright refus'd it; and we, according to our Primitive Orders, refus'd to Sign without it; and by our Offers, gain'd only the Point of having that determin'd against us, which till this time had always remain'd in Suspence.

Whilst I staid at *Nimwegen*, I had a Sheet of Paper sent me from an unknown Hand, written in Latin, but in a Style and Character that discover'd it to be by some *German*; The Subject of it was a long Comment upon a Quatrain recited out of *Nostradamus*.

*Né sous les ombres d'une journée nocturne
Sera en los E boné Souverain.*

*Fera renaistre le sang de l'antique Urn,
Et changera en Or le siecle d'Airain.*

*Under the Shades of a Nocturnal Day being born,
In Glory and Goodness Sovereign shall shine,
Shall cause to spring again the Blood o' th' Antient Urn,
And into Gold the Brazen Age refine.*

The Scope of the whole Discourse was to prove the Prince of *Orange's* being by its design'd for the Crown of *England*, and how much Glory and Felicity shou'd attend that Age and Reign. I cou'd not but mention it, because

because I thought the Interpretation ingeniously found out and apply'd, having otherwise very little Regard for any such kind of Prediction, that are so apt to amuse the World. And tho' the present State of the Royal Family leave not this without Appearance of arriving at one time or other; yet it is at too great a Distance for my Eyes, which, by the Course of Nature, must be clos'd long before such an Event is like to succeed. The Author of this Paper made *The Shades of a Nocturnal Day*, to signify the deep Mourning of the Princess Royal's Chamber, with the Lamps hung about it, which, by the Windows being kept shut, left no other Light in it that Morning the Prince was born. (which was soon after his Father's Death) *Restoring the Blood of the Ancient Uru*, was that of *Bourbon*, or of *Charlemagne*, from whom the Prince was said to descend. The rest was only Panegyrick upon his Virtues, and the general Praise shou'd attend them, and the golden Age he shou'd restore.

The Day after the Treaty was Sign'd, I left *Nimeguen*, and return'd to the *Hague*, after a cruel Fatigue and Expence; which was render'd the more agreeable, when, upon my going into *England* soon after, I found my self in above Seven Thousand Pounds in Arrear at the Treasury. And though, with much Trouble and Delay, and some worse Circumstances (to engage Men that were more dextrous than I in such Pursuits) I recover'd the rest of my Debt; yet two and Twenty Hundred Pounds, due to me for this last Ambassy, continues to this Day a desperate Debt, and Mark upon me how unfit I am for a Court; and Mr. *Godolphin*, after having both said and writ to me, that he wou'd move to have my Statue set up, if I compass'd that Treaty, has sat several Years since in the Treasury, and seen me want the very Money I laid out of my Purse in that Service, and which I am like to leave a Debt upon my Estate and Family.

I shall not trouble my self with observing the remaining Paces of the General Peace, by that of the North, which was left to be made at the Mercy of *France*. And though *Dinmark* and *Brandenburg* look'd big, and spoke high for a time after the Peace between the Empire and *France*, pretending they wou'd defend what they had conquer'd from the *Swedes* in *Germany*; yet upon the March of the *French* Troops into the *Brandenburg* Country, both those Princes made what Haste they cou'd to finish their Separate Treaties with *France*; and upon certain Sums of Money agreed on, deliver'd up all they had gain'd in this War to the Crown of *Sweden*. Thus *Christendom* was left for the present in a General Peace, and *France* to pursue what they cou'd gain upon their Neighbours by their Pretensions of Dependences, and by the *Droit de Bienfrance* [The Right of Convenience;] which they pursu'd with such imperious Methods, both against the Empire and the *Spaniards*, as render'd their Acquisitions after the Peace greater, at least in Consequence, than what they had gain'd by the War. Since not only great Tracts of Country, upon the Score of Dependences, but *Strasburg* and *Luxemburg* fell as Sacrifices to their Ambition, without any neighbouring Prince or State concerning themselves in their Relief. But these Enterprises I leave to some other's Observations.

Very soon after my Arrival at the *Hague*, the King sent me Orders to provide for my Return as soon as I cou'd possibly be ready; and bid me acquaint the Prince and the States, That he had sent for me over to come into that Place of the First Secretary of State in Mr. *Cowley's* Room. My Lord Treasurer writ to me to the same Purpose, and with more Effect than I cou'd pretend to deserve, telling me, among other things, That

were

were fallen into a cruel Disease, and had need of so able a Physician. This put me in Mind of a Story of Doctor Prujean, (the Greatest of that Profession in our Time) and which I told my Friends that were with me when these Letters came. A certain Lady came to the Doctor in great Trouble about her Daughter. *Why, what ails she?* Alas Doctor I cannot tell; but she has lost her Humour, her Looks, her Stomach; her Strength consumes every Day, so as we fear she cannot live. *Why do not you marry her?* Alas, Doctor, that we would fain do, and have offer'd her as good a Match as she cou'd ever expect, but she will not hear of marrying. *Is there no other, do you think, that she would be content to marry?* Ah, Doctor! that is it that troubles us; for there is a young Gentleman we doubt she loves, that her Father and I can never consent to. *Why, look you, Madam;* replies the Doctor gravely, (being among all his Books in his Closet) *Then the Case is this. Your Daughter would Marry one Man, and you would have her Marry another: In all my Books I find no Remedy for such a Disease as this.* I confess, I esteem'd the Case as desperate in a Political, as in a Natural Body, and as little to be attempted by a Man who neither ever had his own Fortune at Heart, (which such Conjectures are only proper for) nor ever could resolve, upon any pursuits of it, to go against either the true Interest, or the Laws of his Country; One of which is commonly endanger'd upon the fatal misfortune of such Divisions in a Kingdom. I chose therefore to make my Excuses both to the King and to my Lord Treasurer, and desir'd leave to go to *Florence*, and discharge my self of a promise I had made some Years past of a Visit to the Great Duke the first time I had leisure from my Publick Employments. Instead of granting this Suit, the King sent a Yacht for me towards the end of *February*, 1678-9. with Orders to come immediately away to enter upon the Secretary's Office about the same time with my Lord *Sunderland*, who was brought into Sir *Joseph Williamson's* Place. I obey'd His Majesty, and acquainted the Prince and States with my Journey, and the design of it, according to his Command; who made me Compliments upon both, and would have had me believe, that the Secretary of State was to make amends for the loss of the Ambassador. But I told the Prince, that tho' I must go, yet if I found the Scene what it appear'd to us at that distance, I would not charge my self with that Employment upon any terms that cou'd be offer'd me. We knew very well in *Holland*, That both Houses of Parliament believ'd the Plot: That the Clergy, the City, the Country in general did so too, or at least pursu'd it, as if they all believ'd it. We knew the King and that some of the Court believ'd nothing of it, and yet thought not fit to own that Opinion: And the Prince told me, He had reason to be confident, that the King was in his Heart a *Roman Catholic*, tho' he durst not profess it. For my own part, I knew not what to believe on one Side or t'other; but thought it easie to presage, from such contrary Winds and Tides, such a Storm must rise, as would tear the Ship in pieces, whatever Hand were at the Helm.

At my arrival in *England*, about the latter end of *February*, I found the King had Dissolv'd a Parliament that had sat eighteen Years, and given great Testimonies of Loyalty and Compliance with His Majesty, till they broke first into Heats upon the *French* Alliances, and at last into Flames upon the business of the Plot: I found a new Parliament was call'd; and that to make way for a calmer Session, the Resolution had been taken at Court for the Duke's going over into *Holland*, who embark'd the Day after my arrival at *London*.

The

The History of the whole Parliament from the first Session, which was for a
 short time, when I came over; and by the divisions, that continued in both
 Houses and Council, it was call'd to be a House of Commons, and were like the
 House of Commons, my Lord *Rich*, and my Lord *Rich*, and back up
 to the Duke of *Monmouth*, resolving to make use of the Council, and the King, and
 to support it by them in the Parliament: And tho' the first had been as any in
 the Council of the Cabal, while he was Chancellor, yet all these had now fallen in with
 the common Humour against the Court and the Ministry, endeavouring to inflame the Dis-
 content against both; and agreed among themselves, That none of them would come into
 Court, unless they did it all together; which was observ'd like other common strains of
 Court-Friendship. Sir *William Coventry* had the most Credit of any Man in the House
 of Commons, and I think the most deservedly, not only for his great Abilities, but for
 having been turn'd out of the Council and the Treasury, to make way for my Lord
Clifford's Greatness, and the Design of the Cabal. He had been ever since opposite to the
 French Alliance, and bent upon engaging England in a War with that Crown, and assistance
 of the Confederates; and was now extremely dissatisfied with the conclusion of the Peace,
 and with the Ministry, that he thought either assisted, or at least might have prevented it;
 and in these dispositions he was like to be follow'd by the best and soberest part of the
 House of Commons. For my Lord Treasurer and Lord Chamberlain, I found them two
 most admirable Examples of the true, and so much admir'd Fidelity of Ministers of State:
 The last, notwithstanding the greatest skill of Court, and the best Turn of Wit in par-
 ticular Conversation that I have known there, and the great Figure he made in the First
 Part of these Memoirs, was now grown out of all Credit and Confidence with the King,
 the Duke, and Prince of *Orange*, and thereby forc'd to support himself by Intrigues with
 the Person, most discontented against my Lord Treasurer's Ministry, whose Greatness he
 so much envy'd: And who was yet at this time in much worse condition than himself,
 tho' not so sensible of it; for he had been very ill with the late Parliament upon account
 of Transgression with *France*, which tho' He had not approv'd, yet He durst not defend
 himself from the Imputation, for fear of exposing his Master: He was hated by the
 French Ambassador, for endeavouring (as he thought) to engage the King in a War
 with *France*; He was in danger of being pursu'd by his Enemies next Parliament, for
 having (as they pretended) made the Peace, and endeavour'd to stifle the Plot: And
 yet I found within a Fortnight after I arriv'd, that he sat very loose with the King his
 Master, who told me several reasons of that change; whereof one was, his having
 brought the business of the Plot into the Parliament against his absolute Command:
 And to complete the happy and envied state of this Chief Minister, the Dutchess of
Portsmouth and Earl of *Sunderland* were join'd with the Duke of *Monmouth* and
 Earl of *Stafford* in the design of his Ruine. What a Game so embroy'd, and play'd on
 all sides with so much heat and passion, was like to end in, no Man could tell: But
 I, that never any thing so much at heart as the Union of my Country, which I
 thought the only way to its greatness and Felicity, was very unwilling to have any part
 in the Divisions of it; the deplorable effects whereof I had been too much acquainted
 with; in the stories of *Athens* and *Rome*, as well as of *England* and *France*: And for
 this Reason, tho' I was very much pleas'd to enter upon the Secretary's Office immedi-
 ately after my Arrival; yet I delay'd it, by representing to His Majesty how neces-
 sary it was for him to have one of the Secretaries in the House of Commons, (where
 it had been usual to have them both) and that consequently it was very unfit for me
 to enter upon that Office before I got into the House, which was attempted, and fail'd:
 But how long this excuse lasted, and how it was succeeded by many new and various
 Accidents, and how I was prevail'd with by the King to have the Part I had afterwards
 in a new Constitution of Council; and how after almost two Years incessant endeavours
 at some Union, or at least some allays of the Heats and Distempers between the King and
 his Parliaments, I took the resolution of having no more to do with Affairs of State; will
 be the Subject of a Third Part of these Memoirs.

F I N I S.



